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THE
FULL VIEW
OF
Canterburies fall,
From POP deliver us all.

*Grace, and no grace,
Hath wrought thy disgrace.*



THE

WALL PAPER

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A Briefe
EXPOSITION,
PARAPHRASE,
OR
INTERPRETATION,
UPON THE
Lord of Canterburies Sermon
or Speech, upon the last Pulpit that
ever he preached, which was the Scaffold
on Tower-hill.

Also, upon the Prayer which he used
at the same time and place before
his Execution.

Written by *William Starbucke* Gentleman, to give
the people a glimmering of the Bishops hypocrisie.

MATTH. 7.15.

*Beware of false Prophets which come to you in sheeps cloathing, but
inwardly they are ravening wolves.*

PROVERB. 26. 24.

*He that hateth dissembling with his lips, and layeth up deceit within
him: when he speaks faire believe him not, for there are seven
abominations in his heart.*

For: 2-2

LONDON.

Printed for *William Starbucke*. 1643. 1644.

EXPOSITION
UNIVERSELLE
DE 1889



Lord of Cap...

MATTHEW
PROVERB

Printed for William Stank...
LONDON



To the Christian READER.



Christian Reader, I know your expectations, or your desires by your Queres, Questions, Answers, and Objections; or rather indeed by many of your distractions: to wit, What do you think of my Lord of Canterbury his Speech or Sermon? how did you like it? To which Queres, Questions, Answers, Objections, and Distractions, I will give as brieſe an answer as I may, for theſe reaſons: firſt, in regard of my little time; for things in this nature require haſt. Secondly, of my unability, for there

(a) Eccl. 12.

is such deepe mysteries, as Latine, and other sentences, that I and many more cannot finde out the depth of it in a short time, and it may be never, in regard of his hypocrisie. Thirdly, too (a) much writing or reading is a wearinesse both to the writer and reader.

(b) Mat. 27.4.

First, what doe you thinke of his Sermon or repentance? my skill or understanding deceiveth me, if Judas his repentance were not as good, and Achans, if not both rather better: for Judas confessed a particular sin, not onely, I have sinned, but, I have sinned in betraying the (b) innocent blood. Achan likewise, not, I am a sinner, or onely, I have sinned against the Lord; but, thus and thus have I done, I saw a Babylonish garment, and two wedges of Gold, and I coveted them. In doing this, the Text

(c) Iosh 7.19, 20.

saith, he gave glory, unto the (c) Lord God. But how many of the Saints of God stood and sate looking with their eyes, and hearing with their eares, and desiring with their prayers, that God would, if it were his will, give him repentance, whose innocent blood he had been the arch spiller of, some of them, or their friends; witnesse Master Burton, Mr. Prynne, Doctor Bastwicke, and Mr. Lilburne, besides the man that was put to death as a Traytor, for him, which it may be saw the spilling of his, some of them: how many were there;

(3)

there; nay rather, how many thousands, which some of them he had been the arch prisoner of; laying waite for the (d) righteous, and spoiling them (d) Prov. 24. 15. of their resting place, causing them to flie from one Parish to another, one Towne to another, one City to another; nay, from one Land to another, many into New-England, some to the West-Indies, and other places of the World: which of any of all these heard this Merchant, or great man of the earth, which by his policy robd and deceived the Nations, waxing rich by his sorceries, to confesse any sinne or sinnes, to (e) re- c Ezck. 18. 17. store any pledge or pledges, either publicuely, or privately; aske M^u. S. I. and others, which have been with him, and then judge of my thoughts; and parallel Judases and Achans repentance, and then tell me, which of them is the worst: and now, as in a wilderness, not knowing how to get out, I end my Epistle, and begin to suspend my thoughts upon his Speech or Sermon; and where I come too short, I refer you to Master Prynnes, Deeds of darknesse, which I heare say is coming forth, if it be not already.





HEBREVVES 12.1,2.

Let us run with patience the race that is set before us,
looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our
faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured
the Crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the
right hand of the Throne of God.

The VVriters Apology.



Good people, my Apology is, as my Lord saith
in a nother case, that you would pardon my
boldnesse, if I follow the Prophets expressi-
ons to the priests of Baall, whose Sermon I
have heer to deale with, although as seildom
as I may which was ironically spoken: cry aloud, it may
be he is in a journey, or asleepe; which was the presthes
practise to both young and old, *Rejoyce young man in
thy youth; and let thy heart cheere thee in the dayes of
thy youth: and walke in the wayes of thy heart, (as he did)
and in the sight of thine eyes: but for all these things God will
bring thee unto judgement.*

The Bishops Apology.

First, before my Lord began his Sermon he desired the good people to pardon his old memory, but by right he should have craved pardon when he was younger, for his memory was as ill to be trusted then as now, but at that time he granted out so many pardons to others, and absolutions, that he forgot his own, or else it slipt out of his memory; but it may be, he had it from the Pope long since, and then it might be in his Study or in some little blacke box, and so as safe as his own Licence, or the rest of the priests, that was made by him or his successors.

Secondly, he told us upon what occasion he came thither, included in these words, *I am come*; he came indeed, but he must needs come when he could not tell how to helpe it; for had not the Sheriffes and their Officers, according to an Ordinance of Parliament, brought him thither, as *Elisba* said in another case, so say I, you should not have seene his face that day, especially upon, or in that pulpit.

Thirdly, he said he must make use of his papers, he does not trust himselfe otherwise, but for my part I can assure you never had a stronger motive to stir up his memory, so that if he had never preached but upon a paper of his life before, he might have throwne away his paper then, except his Sermon had been longer; but he that hath not the Spirit to depend upon, to bring things into his memory, and hath not a mouth and wisdom given him from God, he must needs trust to something, let him trust to his papers.

Fourthly, and lastly, he saith, *good people*, but he leaves our all, you know what he means, *that is an unsatisfiable*

table place to preach in. I grant it, for if no afflictions are
joyous to the godly for the present, then much more no
punishments to the wicked, for the prophet saith *no peace*
** speaketh my God to the wicked* besides to preaching lad-
dings unto others, and his own Generall Sermon, it was not
an uncomfortable time, but the place was good enough
for he never had more roome, (had the scaffold been but
empty) nor yet a greater audience of people; so much for
his Apology, now I come to the Text *Heb. 12.1.2.*
As his memory was not to be trusted to, but his paper,
and his place very uncomfortable, so his time was very
short, for he wanted time, otherwise he would have de-
vided his Text; but to shew his scollership in too many
places, (though it would not have changed his memory,
yet his paper,) being changed in the 7. 10. 13. 14. 18. 19.
pages too much Latine, except it had bin all interpreted,
or else he might have been affraid of this word *us*: for this
word *us* would have shewed, that it was meant the saints,
and not Traitors, or impenitent Malefactors, for the cloud
of witnesses before used, were such as were persecuted
by such as himselfe, themselves being no persecuters. He
saith he hath bin long running the Race, I cannot say so, a
Race, but not the Race: for if he had begun, Christ which
was the Author, would have bin the finisher, or if he had
bin the finisher, he would have finished his worke better,
therefore you say well, you are come to the end of your
owne Race. You say that the shame must be despised, or
else there is no coming to the crowne, I had thought
the crowne had bin come to by the free grace of God, and
sufferings and effect, in those which have received the
assurance, but now I see your Arminianism and your gene-
rall Redemption although you have kept it close, you tell
us he hath despised the shame for you, then Christ hath

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died for all, and if he died for all, then all shall be saved, *And* share and yours is as good as the rest of the Disciples, and he despised the shame for Christ though he crucified him. He saith, *that he is going apace toward the red Sea, his feet being upon the brink, and it is an argument, that God in bringing him to the Land of promise, and that he instituted a Passover for them*; so Pharaoh was going apace toward the red sea when he persecuted the children of Israel; a poore argument that ever he should come to the land of *Canaan*, but he was drowned in the sea against his wil, so you, whilst your chariot wheels were on, but now you are come to the red sea against your will, so as Pharaoh and all his host were drowned, your head hath bin chopt off, and your red blood run about the scaffold: but Israel passed thorough dryshod and triumphed over Pharaoh and all his Host, as the saints do now over you, your head being chopt off; the Passover was instituted but for Israel, and the Lord past them by, but the first borne of Pharaoh were all slaine; so God hath passed by those which you have persecuted, and you are caught in the same snare; *Hagaion & selah*. As for your digesting the soure Herbs, you must whether you will or no: and for your being not angry; it is because your Horns be cut off, the day hath been, when you would not have been well pleased with the hearing tell of such soure and bitter Herbs: and though you were a chiefe Bishop you mistake Christs example, *for when he prayeth that the Cup might passe from him*, he prayeth so, that the people might understand him, and the Apostle saith, *he will pray with the spirit and with understanding also: else how could they that occupied the rooms of the unlearned say Amen*? In the next place you see, though he had some faith such as *was in it*; that Israel was saved and their enemies drowned,

drowned, and the three Children freed from the fiery furnace, and they that put them in burned, so that he should be delivered, and they which hee suffered under should suffer themselves; but hee wanted a Revelation for that. He told us also, that his resolution was as the three Childrens, and not to worship the Image which the King had set up: telling us that the people had set up their imaginations, saying, that he would not forsake the Temple and Truth, *to follow the bleating of Ierobannes Calves in Dan and Bethel*; you see his thoughts of the erecting worship; but hee sayd nothing of the bleating of the Sheepe, and the lowing of the Oxen, which where in *Pauls* and many other places puld downe by Order of Parliaments, though formerly reedified by himselve. He prayed that God would open the Peoples eyes; that they might see the right way, *for if the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch*, it was well considered, for he had led so many into the ditch himselve, that except they see a righter way then he led them, will not get out in hast.

And as for his Repentance looke into the Epistle to the Reader, but behold what a foule heart he had: for after he had ransaked it hee found no finnes there (they being hid as *Saul* was amongst the stuffe,) that deserved Death by any just Lawes of this Kingdome: here is worke for the Parliament, he meanes it may be repealing worke, though he cleares the Judges with his mouth, yet there might be seven abominations in his heart, for I am sure hee condemns the witnesses, and leaving Christ, he takes comfort in *Esseus*; you see that hee keeps his Supremacy still, as the Pope, which saith, that he is Christs Viegerent upon Earth, forgetting what Christ said to his Apostles, *let him that is chiefe amongst you be your servant: call no man Lord, for one is your Lord which is Iesus Christ, hee not Lords*

over Gods heritage as you see his dumbles good causes and
 bad together, and good persons and bad together: daub-
 ing up his comforts with *Iohn* the Baptist, *Paul*, and *Ste-*
ven, and with ancient Fathers, as the Papists his Bre-
 thren doe: *He saith also that the Pope had never such a Harvest in his life,*
 but if it should come to the Pope's share, he would give him
 little thanks for his report; if Heading, Hanging, Draw-
 ing and Quartering, cutting off Archbishops heads, be such
 a harvest, he will not meddle with it, take the crop, who will.
 You see also what a favorite he was to the King, and
 and how he knowes his mind; and who was his counsellor
 or *Achitophel*; but I remember *Pharaoh* he saw it pleased the
 people and so he proceeded further.

Citizens cleare your selves, for you are taxed by my
 Lords Booke for going to the Parliament, to cry out for
 Justice, and there is Scripture against you: so that by con-
 sequence for this great crime you wil bring innocent blood
 on your selves, but it may bee hee gives you this caution
 to make the People thinke himsele Innocent and you
 guilty.

Now I am come to my Lords lamentation for the poore
 Church of England, whilest my Lord was Arch-governour
 you were kept in good order, all things went well, *Pauls*
 went up apace, all the rest of the houses were puld down
 that prophaned it, Organs repaired, and not pulled
 downe, I punished those that spoke against the Service
 Booke; the Singers also had their wages, but now instead
 of singing songs of alacrity, they sing songs of lacrymae.
 Profanenesse comes in, and is already, the high Com-
 mission Court is put downe, every man may doe what hee
 list, these Puritans, Roundheads, may doe what they
 please, whereas I could have slit their Noses, cut their
 Eares,

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Eares, set them on the Pillory, Starved, Imprisoned, Compelled them to blasphemie as Paul did, and persecuted them unto strange Cities.

The last particular, (for my Lord made haste, because the head-man said for him) he tells us of his birth, where he was borne and baptized, to wit, in the Church of England: but he forgetteth Sion, which saith, this man was borne there, and that Jerusalem which is from above is the mother of us all. Although he hath been a ruler in England, we have not yet one word of his new birth. But some of his Chaplains would have done well to have preached out of the third of Job upon his Masters Pulpit, rather than to have let him preached himselfe: it may be that might have done him some good, and hindered him from sending abroad his hypocriticall or Iewicall poylon into the world, and wresting of Scriptures to his owne perdition.

Also he saith, *that it is no time for to dissemble*. Is not this the way of all Jesuits, to die with mantall relevation according to Law: who knowe his meaning, selling us of his innocencie: how he laboured to keepe an uniformity yea, and did, one with the Pope, and would have done with Scotland also, by sending of his poylon thither, if God had not prevented him in his owne time. Also, what clamours of the people hath he suffered; how have they clamored, or rather cried out of him for imprisonment of their husbands, children, and friends, robbing them by his Purseuants, silencing, and turning wife and children out of doores. He proceeds, and contrary to all witness, and proceedings of Parliament, cleares himselfe from Treason, or whatsoever is laid against him; but as good a Lawyer as he was, let Master Prynne alone with that, he hath

hath persecuted him once for his sincerity; but now he hath or will lay open his hypocrisie. He saith he would not enlarge himselfe, and so forgives others, and would have others forgive him; he derogates a little from his former practises in the High-commission-Court: for then he granted out forgivenesses for others, and asked none himselfe; desiring them to joyne with him in prayer, (though *Salomon* saith, *that the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord,*) the manner and matter being both false. God promised that he would poure upon the house of *David* the Spirit of prayer and supplication. *Paul* prayed with the spirit and understanding also, and saith, that the Spirit helpeth the infirmities which cannot be uttered by them; at the day of Pentecost, or the fiftieth day, the Spirit came downe in cloven tongues, not Books, Beads or Crucifixes: but my Lord though he was a Jew, was not there, therefore excuse him. He desired the Lord to looke upon him, but not till he was bathed in the blood of Christ: here you see he questions his assurance. He prays that the King and his posterity, and the people may be established in their just Lawes, and ancient liberties: you know what he meanes.

Some Observations upon Sir *John*
*Clothworthy*s Questions, and my Lords
 Answers.

I. *Sir John Clothworthy* asked him, what speciall place of Scripture was most comfortable now at his departure.

c. He

C. He answers in Latin, that he desires to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.

Star. You see, as he has got his honour by learning, so he loseth his honour with learning. The Gospell saith, If any speak in an unknown Tongue, let it be interpreted. As also, that he had rather speak five words that he might teach others, then ten thousand words in an unknown Tongue. But my Lord forgot that.

J. Sir John Clothworthy told him, that was a good desire, but there must be a foundation for that desire, as assurance.

C. He answers, that no man can expresse it, it was to be found within.

Star. A fit man to be a Bishop; doth not the Scripture say, With the heart man believeth to salvation, and with the tongue confession is made.

I. Sir John Clothworthy said, It is founded on a word, and that word would be knowne.

C. He answered, That word is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and him alone.

Star. But my Lord came too short of giving Sir John satisfaction according to his question. Those that have the knowledge of Christ within them are able to expresse it to others. But my Lord satisfied us not that the Lord is within him.



TO THE READER

on the *Author's name.*

When I did heare the people to admire;
 With zeale my heart did burne like any fire.
What they did speake, and I my selfe did thinke.
 Will I write down with Paper, and with Inke,
 Iniquity to heare them to commend,
 I had done ill if it I had not pend.
 I hearing ill extold, and good cald evil,
 It to passe by, in me had been unwill.
 Looke and behold, and see how they applaud
 Like to a God, I meane their little Laud.
 Like to a martyr do they thinke he dy'd,
 Lo by the law a malefactor try'd.

Looke not on men, they are but dust and clay,
 Let nothing in them steale your hearts away;
 Like to a shade from hence away they passe,
 Like to a dream, a bubble, or like grasse.

I doe admire, and yet admire I not,
 In this plaine case you should be so besot.
 If in his life so many were bereaved,
 In death much more they well might be deceived.

Alas poore soules, such thoughts as these a shun,
 Above looke up, and see what God hath done,
 Admire and wonder at his Parliament,
 And leave such thoughts as give your selves content.

Murthers and treasons till they have suppress,
 Minutes, nights, houres, taking little rest:
 Maintaining innocents in a right cause,
 Malignants punishing that break the Lawes.

Such that in prison once were forc'd to lie,
 Strange Countreys also forced for to flie,
 Seeking for shelter, wandring up and down,
 Set are in places now of great renown.

Tho Noses slit, imprisoned, lost their Eares,
 They much respected are of Noble Peeres.
 Tho Bishops once upon them much did frowne,
 The Prelates proud for them are pulled down.

All you that captives were, and now set free,
 Above your voices lift you up with me;

Admire

Admire and wonder at such things as these,
 As God alone, and let him have the praise.

Raise up your heads, and clap your hands for joy,
 Remember how he doth your foes destroy :
 Revive a little tho they doe, and spread,
 Rotten they be, and soon they will be dead.

Blood which is innocent, he that doth spill,
 Blood he himselfe shall drinke against his will.
 Blood against Caine aloud to Heaven cryed,
 Because that Abell innocently dyed.

Unto all you I doe my speech direct,
 Unity which as yet doe not affect ;
 Unto the Lord, and never give him leave
 Untill in mercy he doe you receive.

Call unto God that he would give you grace,
 Cry unto him whilst you have time and space.
 Crave pardon now before that you be dead,
 'Cause you the blood of innocents have shed.

Keep in your hearts these Verses few of mine,
 Know what they meane, and con them time by time,
 Kisse exhortations good, and che embrace,
 Know God in time, to day seeke you his face.

FINIS.



Sir Peter Killegrew
to Oxford sent,
Is now returned
to the Parliament;
Commissioners names
for Treatie doth bring,
with Propositions
directed by the King:
Some Letters intercepted
tell some tales,
But Laughorne hath
done gallantly in Wales,
Brave Holborne no losse,
in the West be's fear'd;
In Ireland strange
apparitions hath appear'd.
Noble Masley,
the mirror of our dayes,
Hath beat Prince Maurice,
and must needs have prayse.

Be wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE
SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning

Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both
Kingdomes, and relates other Passages observable,
for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 17 of. Jan. till Friday the 24 of the same, 1644.

BEfore I come to speake of this weekes Intelligence, give me leave to premise two things: The first, That whereas, in the end of the last *Dove* I told you (for so it was then reported and beleaved) that we had lost 80. men and Armes at *Christ-Church* in the Countie of *Hampshire*: This weeke hath (according to
Xxx my

my desire) produced better Newes, For it is by Letters from severall hands affirmed, that our men were saved by retreat, when the Kings Forces advanced towards *Christ-Church*, and that after the Kings Forces were drawne backe, our men came into *Christ-Church* againe, and were again assaulted, but defended themselves bravely, so that they caused the Enemy to flye and fall before them. Secondly, I intreat my Reader to passe by the many former slips and errors of the Printer; Pardon the Pen, and blame the Printer. It is a fault of which I have often complained, and an error under which I have with prejudice suffered from time to time, but not reformed. I have prepared another Cote for my *Dove* to plume her self in, and from whence she may flye with more intelligible expressions, being prest thereto by other commands, carefully performed.

We shall therefore begin this weeks Intelligence with a preparation for Peace: On Friday in the evening, Sir *Peter Killegrew* went toward *Oxford* to the King, to carrie a Letter from both Houses, and therein a list of the names of the Lords and Commons that are appointed to treat; he is also to bring back from His Majestie a list of the names of those Lords and Gentlemen that are by His Majestie appointed to treat, &c. I gave you the names of the Lords and Commons last weeke: but, that those who may happily read me this week, that did not read the last, may receive the same satisfaction, I shall iterate the same, The Lords are, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Earle of *Pembroke*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Earle of *Denbigh*. The Commons are, M. *Hollice*, M. *Perepoynt*, Lord *Wainman*, Sir *Henry Vane Junior*, M. *Saint-John* Solicitor, M. *Prediaux*, M. *Crem*, M. *Whitlocke*. The names of the Commissioners for *Scotland*, are, The Marquess of *Argyle*, the Lord *Louthian*, the Lord *Maitland*, Lord *Balmarvoo*, Sir *Charles Erskine*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, M. *Barclay*, M. *Hindersham*, M. *Kenaday*. The Marquess of *Argyle* we know is in *Scotland*, and is Commander in chiefe of their Armie; how occasions may dispence with him to come to the Treatie we know not. The Preachers appointed by the Commons to goe with their Members, are M. *Marshall*, and M. *Vines*; here we shall leave you till we tell you of Sir *Peters* returne and answer, in the meane time I shall a little discourse of the affaires in *Wales*. Last weeke I told you of Major Generall *Laughorne*, who had with much gallantry taken the Towne and Castle of *Cardigan*, while Col. *Gerrard* was spoiling towards *Warwick* and *Worcester*, &c. Since when we have received intelligence, that Major *Laughorne* marcht into *Pembroke-shire*, where he
fell

fell upon the remainder of *Gerrards* Forces, and assailed them with great courage (notwithstanding their advantage, and resolution to make opposition to death) but Major *Laughorne* gave the Enemy so hot and so strong a charge, that they forgot the commands of their Colonell *Gerrard*, and in stead of going on, they fell back, and would have retreated: but the gallant Major Generall came so fast on, that they fell before him, some by the Sword, some upon their knees to beg their lives, while the rest delivered up their Armes and Ammunition to Major *Laughorne*, where as some Letters say, he tooke good store of all kinds, and about 80 men and horse, which hath struck so great a damp in the hearts of *Gerrards* Souldiers, that they are all readie to denie their Master; whereupon Major Generall *Laughorne* hath sent Summons, to pray all the Countie of *Pembroke* to bring in their Armes & Ammunition to serve God and the Parliament by them. The wilfull *Welch* must be beaten into order and honestie, and then they will begin to bethinke themselves, and will accept of good preaching and Preachers for their consolation: good Preachers in *Wales* would make the *Welch* good Christians as well as good Subjects.

From *Oxford* we have intelligence, that *P. Maurice* is made Generall of the Counties of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Shropshire*, &c. and that he is forthwith to apply himselfe to those parts; it is that way they looke, rather then to a treatie: therefore, and for divers other good reasons (though I will not despaire of some good by the treatie, nor discourage men in their hopes) I am inclinable to beleeve we shall receive no benefit by the treatie, I pray God we receive no hurt by it. I neither will nor may say much of the letters which last weeke were intercepted comming from *Oxford*, for the time is not yet fit to speake thereof; yet some of those letters give more cause of feare then of hope. There were severall letters directed to active malignants in the Citie, and some to others, which were to be transported to persons of qualitie, &c. It is no small testimonie, of Gods presence with, and favour to this our happie Parliament, that God is so pleased to discover the secret intentions of our bloudie enemies; it is not our strength that hath hitherto saved us, but God; nor is it their pitie, that we are not in much worse condition then *Ireland* is at this day: what they have done there, they intended to doe here: that they have not there drayned drie the veines of all Protestant blood, is that God hath restrained them;

and that they have failed in their great Master-piece in *England*, is because God will use them that were by them appointed to the bloudie Sword for destruction, shall be the destroyers of the bloudie plotters of Popish crueltie. I have beene informed from the relation of judicious knowing men, such as have beene lately imployed in *Ireland*, now stricken with terror, in admiration of the *Irish* crueltie, and of Gods Almighty power, by the observation of the one and of the other, they doe confesse Gods justice and mercie; justice, in punishing the loose profession of the Protestant Religion, the dishonour of God, and the shame of that profession; and mercie, in sparing a remnant to tell the ages to come of the mitaculous works of God; not lesse then the wonders that were wrought in the wilderness for the seed of *Jacob*, though for their murmuring and unbeliefe many of them were destroyed: among other, I will relate one wonder to you, which is this; The place and bridge where many of the Protestants in *Ireland* were cruelly forced into the water, and drowned; at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, of which I suppose all men have formerly heard; at this place, and thereabout, at severall seasons (as hath beene testified by oath to the Councell of *Dublin*) there is seene an apparition of men and women to rise out of the water from the middle upward, and a voyce heard crying in a fearefull tone, or accent, *Revenge, Revenge*; and so vanissheth: the apparition is observed to appeare (when this voyce is heard) with hands closed together, and lift up toward Heaven; and most usually it is at the place where many that swim to the other side of the River, were barbarously knockt on the head, and their bodies throwne againe into the River. I have heard by some Letters from some Counties which are under the Parliaments power, that the people complaine and crie out of oppression, and thinke their case desperate, and their burthens unsufferable: to those Counties, and to those men thus complaining, I send my *Dove* with comfort, and as by a particular Letter, entreat every man complaining to consider the Cause; it is the Cause of Christ you doe maintaine, it is the great enemy *Antichrist* that you oppose; and in such a quarrell if you lose House, Land, Father, Mother, Children, yea, your deare and precious life, you shall not lose your reward; nay, assure your selves, though you see no means how it shall be done, God is able and will to you or yours, to you and yours, give an hundred fold even in this life, and everlasting glorie in the life

to come. Secondly, weigh your sufferings with the sufferings of them in the West, and Northwest, that are under the Royall Powers, and yours will seeme light. Thirdly, consider that it is the Parliaments chiefe care to worke your deliverance, and to establish your peace. If any usurpe their authoritie, and abuse them and you, when time will give them leave, they will question all such men, and right all you that are wronged. In the meane time, he that loves God and the Kingdome, will be content to preferre the publique before his owne private safetie, or profit; and they that by abuse of authoritie wrong both publique and private, I doubt not (as fit they should) will be brought to shame, and their posteritie made infamous.

And whereas some friends in the Countrey have of late desired to know how the great Ordinance goes on, hoping it would be a speedie meanes of Remedie, I shall entreat men to wait a while, and they shall see all things goe well: notwithstanding, the Lords have cast out the first Ordinance, for some reason knowne to themselves; yet they are (as I am informed) preparing another (to that effect) to send downe to the Commons: and for my part I confidently beleieve, both Houses will well agree in that very thing, so as the Kingdome will quickly feele the benefit thereof.

The Commons have made a good progresse in the setting of our Armies, and they have Voted divers Officers to make up one entire Armie for the service of those parts of the Kingdome, which (by intention) shall consist of 21000 foot and horse: Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is Voted to command in Chiefe for all the Horse, and Colonel *Skippon* is to command as Serjeant Major Generall of that Armie: for I conceive there shall be no Lord Generall but his Excellencie the Earle of *Essex*, whose knowledge, valour, and faithfulnessse is ever to be remembred, with honour and prayse; nor let any man conceive that he is any way neglected, but for a time spared, for the publique good, so long as both Houses, and himselfe a Member, shall see cause to use his advice and counsell in the House, or send him upon action abroad. I say thus much to prevent the mistakes of men, for wee are apt to mis-understanding in actions, and things: some are apt to thinke, that his Excellencie is willing to desert the service; some, that his service is refused: but it is neither; onely hee is to

act, or not to act, as the publique most requireth, and to best advantage.

There are divers Colonels already named to command in this Armie under the two Commanders in Chiefe, before spoken of; I will give you the names of some of them: Colonel *Craford*, Colonel *Middleton*, Colonel *Holborne*, Colonel *Barkley*, Colonel *Graves*, Colonel *Sydney*, Colonel *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Pickering*, Colonel *Welden*, Colonel *Mountague*, Sir *Michael Linsey*, and divers other, which I omit for brevity, neither is it necessarie that I should name them all; for besides them that are named for this Southerne Armie, there are many other yet to be appointed for other parts: nor let any man thinke, that other men not named for this Armie, are neglected, there is imployment for all honest brave men, and all will (without doubt) be employed in honourable service in fit time and place. Hee that is of a publique spirit, will be well contented to see the Worke goe well on for the publique good, whose hands soever be the actors in it, though his owne should be necessarily absent.

By intelligence from the West it is certified, that Colonel *Holborne* hath taken a garrison of the enemies, called *Sydenham House*; in which he tooke many prisoners, and divers of note and qualitie: in it he tooke about 100 souldiers; he tooke also the high Sheriffe of the Countie of *Somerset*, and divers other gentlemen, Commissioners of Array.

It is further certified, that he hath cleared the Countie in all these parts, having since the taking of *Sydenham House* fallen upon *Hoptons* forces, as they were going towards *Devonshire*, to joyne with *Greenvile*: for by a Letter that was intercepted, written by Secretarie *Nichols*, going beyond sea, it is understood, that that was *Hoptons* designe; but Colonel *Holborne* hath spoyled it, and hath (as is certified) taken betwene two and three hundred prisoners, besides many Horse and Armes; and the strength of the enemy is not so numerous in those parts as some have reported: the residue of *Hoptons* forces are driven toward *Bristol*, for that way he fled for refuge. On this side *Exeter* is no considerable partie, and in *Exeter* very little strength besides the townes-men: their strength is toward *Plimouth* for offence, and toward *Bristol* for defence: but we have assurance, that *Plimouth* is in very good condition; and in safetie.

We had intelligence the beginning of this week, that three Lords at *Oxford* were committed for some misdemeanor, they would have made us beleieve they had a designe to bring away the Prince, but I feare the report it selfe was a designe to catch us. Some say they were committed for jeering *P. Rupert*, who went from *Oxford* with confidence to dyne in *Abington*, but run away well beaten before his dinner was readie. The Lords that are committed, are *Newport*, *Pierce*, *Andruer*.

On Wednesday about ten a clocke in the forenoone, *Sir Peter Killgrew* came from *Oxford* to *London*, he came late on Tuesday night from *Oxford* and before he came thence he heard of the Vote that had passed that day in the house, for the making *Sir Thomas Fairfax* Commander in chiefe of the Southerne Armie, of 21000 Foot and Horse, by which we may see the great advantage they at *Oxford* have of the Parliament by true and quick intelligence, which is indeed the quintessence of Warre: It were happie if the Parliament had the like from them, or that they were hindered of it from hence; we know how all the designes of the King of *Syria* were blatted by the intelligence that *Elisha* gave; and surely did not God wonderfully prevent the plots of our Enemies, and cause themselves to discover them, we had not escaped as we have done; they having so many intelligencers, plotters, and actors among us, that discover every secret counsell.

So soone as *Sir Peter* came, he brought his Message to the Commons, and they at Conference imparted it to the Lords; The King agrees to a Treatie, and hath set the day, Thursday the 30 of *Januarie*, the place *Uxbridge*, he hath sent the Commissioners names, viz. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueste of *Harriford*, Earle of *Southampton*, Earle of *Kingsfon*, Lord *Capell*, Lord *Dunsmore*, *Seymor*, *Culpeper*, *Hatton*, *Gardener*, *Ashturnham*, *Hide*, *Lane*, *Nichols*, *Balmer*, *Bridgman*: also Doctor *Shelden*, Doctor *Steward*, and Doctor *Laney*.

His Majestie hath also sent Propositions to the Parliament, and they are as high as ever his demands were, and looke as farre from Peace as can be.

First, His Majestie demands all his Townes, Forts, Ships, Revenues, Magazines, &c. be restored to him.

Secondly, that all Ordinances, made since the sitting of this Parliament, that are not agreeing to the common knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, be put in oblivion.

Thirdly,

*Thirdly, that all Taxes and Impositions by them sessed, be recalled.
Fourthly, that such as shall be exempt on both sides from pardon, shall be tryed by the Peers.*

Fifthly, that an Act be for the extirpation of Poperie, and for the settling of Religion, as it is established by Law.

Sixthly, that the abuse of the Booke of Common Prayer be prevented, only that care be taken to satisfie tender consciences.

And also that there be Cessation of Armes, and a free Trade.

These are the summe and briebe of his Majesties Propositions, which we must leave to the advice of our wise Parliament, and submit to their wisdom and judgements; for my part I see no likely-hood of Peace this way, yet pray to God to blesse all meanes that tend to Peace: should these things be granted, our condition will be in all likely-hood worse then ever it was, and past helpe or hope: *God save the King, and blesse the Parliament.* God will carry on his own work by his own way; let God work, and we shall have cause to wonder, and praise him that worketh.

The Houses after some debate, referred the businessse of the Treatie to the Committee of both Kingdomes, they sate till eleven of the clock at night in debate about it, the result of all is to treat: the *quare* is, whether they will treat with the *Oxford* new Lords, as Lords, or as Commissioners appoynted by the King, the house having Voted all that is done under the Great Seale to be voyd, since the Seale was treacherously carried away from the Parliament.

Sir William Waller is not yet gone West, the reason is known to the Houses; his Horse and Dragoons are ready, if need call for them, but it is likely the Parliament see that there is not so much need of such speedy sending, as at the first resolution of sending was conceived.

We have intelligence, that Colonell *Masse* hath fallen upon some Forces of Prince *Maurice*, as they were marching toward *Shrewsburie* to suppress the County of *Shropshire*, who refuse to pay to the Kings Garrisons, or to give them free quarter: Colonell *Masse* charged them neer to *Cambden*, and slew some, took 11. Captains, and 60. souldiers, also the Coronet and Colours of Prince *Maurice*, the rest about 60 fled into *Cambden-house*: this is not yet conferred by any Letters to the House, yet affirmed by good Authors.

4

The Grand IMPOSTOR VNMASKED,

O R,
A Detection of the notorious hypo-
cricie, and desperate Impiety of the late
Archbishop (so styled) of *Canterbury*, cun-
ningly couched in that written Copy, which
he read on the Scaffold at his execution,
(*Ian. 10. 1644.*) *Aliàs*, called by the publi-
sher, *his funerall Sermon.*

By *Henry Burton.*

Rom. 2. 5.

But thou after thy hardnes, and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thy self
wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgement
of God: Who will render to every man according to his deeds.

Psal. 10. 21.

These things hast thou done, and I kept silence: thou thoughtest that I was
altogether such a one as thy self: but I will reprove thee, and set them in
order before thine eyes. O consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you
in pieces, and there be none to deliver.

When the Fox preacheth, let the Geese beware.

Published according to Order.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert* at the Black-spread Eagle

Jani 24. at the West end of *Pauls.* 1644



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The Preface to the READER.

READER,

THE old saying is, Of the dead speak nothing but wel; so shal I speak nothing but truth of this mans falshood, both while he lived, & when he died. And let me deprecate thee the least suspition of malice in me towards the man, or his memory; the which I was so far and free from in his life time, that a little before his death, my selfe with two other godly, reverend brethren, went to his lodging in the Tower, to tender our Christian duty of charity to him, for Counsell and comfort (if it would be accepted) in that his condition. But by his Secretary he returning Court-thanks, said, some had been with him that day, and now he was otherwise employed in his private businesse. Whereupon we returned: And that morning Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower having been with him, and taking his leave with these words, I pray God open your eyes: he returned him thanks, Saying, And I pray God open your eyes; and I hope there is no harme in that.

To the Reader.

By which he would cunningly insinuate, that Master Lieutenants eyes were blinded, rather then his. But more of this legierdemain anon; and for this task, I was first earnestly importuned by two reverend godly Ministers, to undertake it, which I took as a call from God.

Clericus
absque li-
bro.

Now for his Funerall Sermon, how it could be truly said to be preacht, when he read it verbatim, as also how he could properly be said to pray, what he read in his paper (for without his book he could neither preach, nor pray) I leave it to thy right judgement.

Finally, that such a poysonfull peece as this should be so licentiously published in Print, before some Antidote were prepared, either to correct its Malignancy, or to corroborate the simple hearted people, apt to drink in such a sugared potion, from the mouth of such a bold dying man, though a Traitor: if understanding men do not wonder, I shall confesse my selfe the only foole to marvaile. But I hope this Antidote will not come altogether too late to recover such, as whose weaker stomachs have not been able to overcome the poyson. Farewell.



Good

The grand Impostor unmasked.

GOOD People, You'l pardon my old Memory, and upon so sad occasions as I am come to this place, to make use of my Papers, I dare not trust my self. *ther Wife.* He begins.

HOW ever the good People may Pardon his old memory for reading, instead of preaching; yet how the righteous God should pardon such an old memory, as could not remember one of all those grosse sins, wherein he had lived, so as to confesse them, and to crave pardon of God for them, I cannot see, I dare not say: He did with *Adam* hide his transgressions in his bosome; he would not with *Achan* confesse his sinne that troubled Israel, to give glory to God; nor with the Traitor *Judas* repent of his Treason, nor restore the price of innocent blood, which he had shed, nor confesse at all his sin of treason: Yea, when Mr. *Weld*, Mrs. *Jones*, and others, came to him in the Tower to demand of him recompense for all the wrongs he had done them in their persons, credits, and estates, he could never be brought to acknowledge the least, saying he remembred no such thing, thus laying all the burthen upon his old memory, living and dying.

Job. 31.

33.
Joel. 7.

Mat. 27. 3.

And yet in his next words he addes; *And upon so sad occasions, as I am come to this place.* A sad occasion sure, had he been so sensible of it, as he should have been: Wherein, though his old memory failed him, yet his old Conscience (surer to keep, then a thousand memories) might have helped him. But it seems, that not only his long habituated wickednesse had seared, and brought his Conscience into a deep Lethargy, or dead sleep, but surely some compounded Cordiall by the Apothecaries Art, had so wrought with him, that not only it caused him to have a ruddy fresh countenance, but also did so prop up his spirits, that he might seem, as *Agag*, to have already swallowed down the bitter cup of death, and that the world might take him to die as some innocent Martyr, as all his Sermon would set him forth, and for which end it was penned, if not also Printed. But how sad soever the occasion of his death was to him, or no: sure we are the occasions thereof (which was in sum, high Treason, in the belly whereof, (as in that Trojan horse) were so many cruell practises, and crafty conveyances closely couched, the very seed and spawne of those locusts out of the bottomlesse Pit, as horses prepared to battell, with their King *Abaddon* over them.) (*Revel 9.*) have made sad not only many thousand particular persons, and families of godly people, undone by him, but even three whole kingdoms, two whereof lie weltering in their blood, as at this very day. Only, blessed be God, our sadnesse is at length somewhat refreshed with the broken head of this *Leviathan* in our desolate land, almost turned into a wilderness by this Romish wilde Bore.

Psal. 74.

14.

Pla. 80.

13.

He calls the Scaffold an uncomfortable place to preach in. But sure

The grand Impostor unmasked.

if his cause had been good, and his conscience innocent, he needed not have complained of the uncomfortableness of the place. The Martyrs did not so, who coming to the Stake, cheerfully saluted it with a kisse.

* Being not long before degraded.

And could his *Old memory* have remembered that Pillory-suffering, not much above seven years standing, which his Conscience at least might have suggested unto him, how a certain ** quondam* Preacher standing in the Pillory, pleasantly said; *I never preacht in such a Pulpit before*; saying also to the people, (and that with a Repetition for their remembrance) *little do you know what fruit God is able to produce out of this dry Tree*: making the Pillory all the while his triumphall Chariot, while that *Canterburian Prelate* (together with *Con* the Popes Nuntio, and other Compeers) was a triumphant spectator out of the Star-Chamber; he little dreamed then, that such a Pillory could in the space of seven years grow to such a bulke, as whereof to hew out, and erect a Scaffold on the Tower-Hill, where himself should loofe his head for others ears: perhaps one of the fruits of that *dry Tree*; so that if the innocent cause and conscience of one, made the Pillory such a *comfortable Pulpit*: sure it must be the contrary cause and conscience, that makes the Scaffold such an *uncomfortable place*, for the Prelate to preach upon.

Well he takes his Text: *Heb. 12.1,2. Let us run, &c. Looking unto Iesus, &c.*

Miserable man! Never was a holy Text so unhallowed, so miserably abused, so corruptly glossed upon, so shamefully perverted, as this Text. And doth he call about him that *cloud of witnesses* (*ver. 1.*) those holy Patriarchs and believers of the Old Testament, to witness the suffering of a lying Traitor, as if a dying Martyr?

Aff. 9.

Surely this man in his race had often an eye unto *Iesus*, that is to the Name JESVS, whereof he was a very devout Adorer, and so zealous, that he suspended me once from preaching against the superstitious bowing at the naming of that Name. So as however he looked unto *Iesus*, yet he never shewed such a favourable aspect upon Christ, whom in his swift footed zeale (untill in the Tower, the sinew of his leg, without any violence, had a terrible crack, that he could not now *run* so fast in his race, as before) he so cruelly persecuted in his servants and members: So as by this time himself knows sufficiently, with what eye he looked unto *Iesus*, as whom he findes a just Iudge, and punisher of that faith of his, which was none other but that of *Babylon*; as the Reader may see at large in my ** Reply* to his Relation of a conference, &c.

* Reply.
Pag. 166,
to 170,
173.

That he is now come to the end of his race, though long, we blesse God. But here he findes the *Crosse*, a death of shame. And why so *shamefull* the *Crosse*, which he so honoured and adored in his life, witnesseth the

The grand Impostor unmasked.

the goodly Crucifix over his Altar at Lambeth, White-hall, and else where, which he was not wont to passe by unsaluted.

But the same must be despised, or there is no coming to the right hand of God. How, *must* that *shame* be despised, which the righteous hand of God brought him unto? Why did he not acknowledge it a *shame* due unto him, for all the dishonour he had done to God in his life time? Or why did he petition the *Lords*, that he might not dye the more shamefull death of the *halter*, but rather of the *hatchet*, as more futable for one, who had sat so long and oft, at those late *Honorable boards*, as also in the present *Parliament*? Nay, had he had any one sparke of true *Grace*, (over and above that of *Canterbury*) considering the numberlesse shamefull acts that were perpetrated by him with a shamelesse forehead, and remorselesse conscience: he would with *Origen* (for but once offering incense to the *Idol*) have said to all the people, *Calcate me inspidum salem, trample upon me, as unfavoury salt*: and he would have Petitioned, that he might have the most shamefull death, yea *hanging*, *drawing*, and *quartering*, that head and limbes might be set up for everlasting monuments of such an enemy of *Religion* and *State*. This had been the way to come at length to *Christs right hand*, to have found him his *Iesus*, and not to his left, to finde him his Judge: But for *Gods right hand*, that is proper to *Christ* alone.

But he is so far from this shame, that he adds, *God forbid I should despise the shame for him.* What? A *shame* suffered for *Christ*? A *shame* despised, being a most condigne punishment? *Christ* is said to despise the *shame* by a voluntary undergoing it in our steads, but this man despiseth the *shame*, by a desperate contempt, in suffering it perforce, against his will.

But he tells us, *his feet are now upon the brinke of the Red-sea: an argument* (he hopes) *that God was bringing him to the land of promise, for that was the way, by which of old he led his people.* O poore man! Did he not remember that *Pharaoh* and his *Egyptians*, comming into the *Red-sea*, were drowned. And did not his *Old memory* yet call to mind, that not many years ago, he had been a prime Task-master under *Pharaoh*, yea even the *Pope* himself, to the intolerable oppression of *Gods people*, even to the cutting off of the *masculine spirits* of *Israel*; and therefore no good argument for him, to hope to passe that way to *Canaan*, that *Israel* went, he having gone the cleane contrary way; and therefore now lyes drowned in the *Red-sea* of his own blood, as a just revenge upon him, for causing so much blood to be shed, & more especially of that poor soule, who was hanged, drawn and quartered, about the busines of *Lambeth house*; so as that speech of *Queen Thomyris* the *Amazon*, when she cut off *King Cyrus* his head, and cast it into a vessell of blood, may be wel applyed to this blood-sucker of poor inno-

Exod. i.
Act. 7. 19.

The grand Impostor unmasked.

cents, Now satiate thyself with blood, which living thou didst so much thirst after.

No little doth he abuse, and misapply the *Lords Passover*, the *Lambes*, the *Soure herbes*: the *gatherers whereof* how little *angry* he is with, will appeare anon.

He saith, *Men can have no more power over him, then that which is given them from above.* Innocent Christ spake those words, and onely he might properly speak them: and not any such *malefactor*, as this, on whom the just lawes of the land had immediate power thus to punish him; whereas *Pilate* had no such *legall* power over innocent Christ to *put him to death*, but only from an extraordinary divine dispensation. But thus this man hath taken a lawlesse liberty to himselfe all along, thus intolerably to abuse the Sacred Scriptures, beating this gold by force of his hammer so thin, that he may therewith guild over his rotten cause, thereby to deceive the simple at his death, as he had done in his life; who are apt to *take all for gold, that glittereth.*

Here he compares himself with *Aaron*, as before with *Christ*: but he must remember, he is no longer the *Canterburian High Priest*. But who be those *Egyptians*, that drove this *Aaron* into the Red-sea, and must be drowned in the same *waters*? O full of subtilty! What the Parliament? O child of the Devil!

But who is that *God*, whom he had *served*? Though our God hath served himself of this *Prelate*, as he doth of *Satan*, and other wicked men, using them as his * rods to scourge his own deare children; surely in no other sence could he be said to *serve God truly*: For all his other service, what was it, but superstitious, Idolatrous, after the *inventions of men*, a will-worship, after the rudiments of the word, and not after *Christ*.

And here he compares himself, with those *three children in the furnace*, whence God delivered them, and so can be him. Miserable Prelate! Is he now upon the scaffold for such a cause, as those were in the furnace? Why, those were there, for not obeying the Kings commandement, to bow to his new golden god: but was this Bishop now on the Scaffold, for any such disobedience? Nay, was it not for his too much officiousnesse, and obedience. So that, might he not have said, as *Cardinall Wolsey*, Had I (said he) been as carefull to serve God, as I have been to serve the King, I had never come to this death. And for Gods power to deliver, it is not questioned. But his glory was seen in delivering those *three innocent children* from the hot fiery furnace; not so, that he should have delivered such a traitor from the block: when as his *Glory* called for execution of justice upon such a Malefactor, yea such a notorious hypocrite, such a desperate, obdurate, impenitent, remorselesse, shamelesse, monster of men.

Act.

* Esa. 10.

Col. 2.

Here he prosecutes his comparison between himself and the three children : *They would not worship the Kings golden Image : Nor will I (saith he) the Imaginations which the People are setting up ; Nor will I forsake the Temple and the Truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboams Calves in Dan and in Bethell.* By People here in Capitall Letters, he must needs mean the Parliament ; the People of the Land representative ; and so by *Jeroboams Calves*, whereby he means a revolting from *Juda*, and from true Religion, and that the Religion now to be set up, is, in comparison of that under the Prelacy, no better then *Jeroboams Calves*, worshipped in *Bethell* and *Dan* ; and the Prelaticall Government, as the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and the Truth of God. Thus he holds to his old Principles, which he sucked in with his Mothers milke, and was Nursed up in *Oxford*, and which grew up with him in Court to a full stature. But stay ; shall he run away with it thus in a darke mist ; leaving the People to grope at noon day, as in the *Egyptian* darknesses ? * *I most humbly thank my Saviour for it* (saith he) *my resolution is now, &c.* What ? Not to forsake the Temple, and Truth of God. O Hypocricie ! O Blasphemy ! Will he interest and ingage Christ in all his Idolatrous *Crucifixes, Crosses, Altars, Superstitious Worship, Ceremonies, and Reliques of Rome*, set up every where in his *Idoll Temples and Chappells*, calling all this his Temple, and Truth of God ? Will he call his Images the Truth of God, which the Truth of God, the Scripture, calls a * *Lye*, and a *teacher of Lyes* ? O abomination ! And doth this devout Votary to Images, humbly thank Christ, that his resolution lay not to lye down, till he lay down his head upon the Block, not to part with his Antichristian Hierarchie, the Grand enemy of Christs Kingdom, and grievous Tyranny over the Soules and Bodies of Christs Saints, whose Redemption cost him his dearest Blood ? O the Rocky cruelty of this wretched man ! Who as he shewed no mercy to others, whom he most wickedly oppressed in his life : so now at his death he can shew no mercy to himself, by considering the justice of that Saviour, whereof his whole life had been a most high provocation, now sealed up at his death, with a desperate resolution to be the same man still ; should his life be prolonged an hundred yeares. So as no marvell it is, if wicked men be punished eternally in hell, when if they should live eternally in this world, they would hold firm their Resolution, never to cease to be the same men in sinning.

But he bestows his *Episcopall blessing* upon the People, for the opening of their eyes, to see the right way : Himself being so blind as not to see any other right way, out of his own way, then which none is more contrary and opposite to Christ, and his way.

*Esa. 44.
19, 20.
Hab. 2.
18.

Ibid.

But he acknowledgeth himself in all humility a most grievous sinner many wayes, by thought, word, and deed, and therefore I doubt not (saith he) but that God hath mercy in store for me a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners. But wherein? What sign? What thought? What word? What deed? Did he confesse those thoughts, whereby he resolved and indeavoured to reconcile Rome and England together, which he expressed in his Relation of a conference with the Jesuit; Did he confess the sinfull words of that Reconciling Book? That there he cunningly incites the King against godly Ministers? That there hee blames and bewayles with a bleeding heart, the separation between Protestants and Papists, both for the causing, and continuing of it: That he hath there in many passages abused and vilified the Scriptures all along his Booke? That he hath fathered his grosse lyes upon * God the Father, upon * Christ, upon * the Holy Ghost? and infinite other bold and wicked expressions there.

Reply, p.
19. p. 252.
225.
See the
Reply.
p. 205.
202. 275,
p. 211.

As,
Mr. Rud,
Mr. Ber-
nard, and
many o-
thers.

And for his Deeds: did he ever confesse elsewhere, or on the Scaffold, all his Prelaticall pranckes and practises in oppressing, suppressing, supplanting the Truth of God, both in Pulpit and Presse, silencing, suspending, fining, confining, outing godly, painfull Preachers, with wives, children, and other christians? Did hee ever confesse his being the chief cause of cropping of Eares, Pillorying, Imprisoning, Whipping, Branding, Banishing those, against whom no crime could be layde by any Law? Or did he (to shew the truth of conversion) come forth, to offer restitution to all that he had wronged, oppressed, and spoiled of their goods and livelyhoods? No such thing, here is nothing, but a generall confession of (I wot not what) grievous sins. But being put to it, he would not confesse one particular sin, as we noted before, when some came to him for restitution of their wrongs. And yet doth hee hope for pardon. Aug. saith, *The sin is not pardoned, where the wrong is not satisfied for*: Nay, when many such things were witnessed against him before the Honourable House of Lords, as of his violent dealing with many Preachers and others, hee justified himself, saying; that he did but discharge the office of a good *Diocesan*; and the like.

Aug.
Non re-
mittitur
peccatani-
si restitu-
atur abla-
tum.

And what doth this desperate Hypocrite tell us, of *ransacking every corner of his heart*? What have we to doe with his selfe-deceiving heart, known only to God? We looke upon his *Actions*; we judge of the tree by the fruits. He finds not in his false heart any true cause of death. But we find it in his hands, we finde the blood of the soules, yea and the bodies too of the poore Innocents upon his skirts; and this is found not by secret search, but upon all these. His notorious practises proclaim it, so as he that runs, may read. And doth not the Law of this

Ier. 2. 34.

Kingdom

Kingdom punish Theeves, and Robbers, and Murtherers, and Traytors? But however, *he chargeth nothing upon his Iudges*. Thats well, for never had Traytor fairer play; and they proceeded, *secundum allegata et probata*. And this is the Law of the Land. Let that suffice. But whom else he layes his charge upon, it matters not; his charge is no burthen, nor his tongue a slander. And though in a legall course an Innocent may be condemned, yet more Nocents are, which he was to have looked better to.

But for all this, *he thanks Christ, he is quiet within, as ever*. O poor wretch! What? All this while, no remorse, no stirring, no sting of conscience? No awaking of that sleepy Lion? No apprehension of Divine Iustice? Nothing but a dead slumber, or deep Hypocrisie, or damnable Atheisme? I remember how * Bernard tells us of a bad conscience, and quiet; which is the most dangerous & desperate of all other.

Among others, his Predecessors (as he calls them) he brings in St. John Baptiste (as he styles him) *whose head was danced off by a lewd woman*: And surely if he had been as faithfull, as John Baptiste was, in reproving Herod, and his lewd Woman, he might perhaps have been prevented of loosing his head for treason, and might have proved a Saint William for it; did Saint-ship now a daies goe by vertue, and not by villany, the way that he tooke. And why among the rest, did he not mention his Predecessor, his St. Thomas a Becket, who, though not judicially, was taken away? He sought, by depressing the King and State, to exalt the libertie of the Church. For this, the Pope Sainted him: but K. Hen. 8. afterward would have him called no longer Saint, but Traitor. But this man thought himselfe no Traitor, because not against the King. As if Treason against the State of the Kingdome, and Common-weale, be not treason also against the King, by dividing the one from the other, and cutting the knot, that should knit them together, as Oath, Covenant, Lawes.

* Conscientia mala, & tranquilla.

But it comforts him, that his charge looks somewhat like that of St. Paul, Act. 25. being accused for Law and Religion: and that of Stephen Act. 6. A poore comfort, when well considered, and the account cast up. And though Paul (before his conversion) was consenting to Stephens death, yet he found Mercy afterward, as having done it ignorantly, and confessing and repenting of it. But this Prelate could not say, he persecuted the Saints ignorantly, neither would ever confesse those persecuting sins of his, nor repent of them; and therefore how could he finde or hope for mercy at Gods hand, or mans either?

Here he, as impertinently as before, hales in another place of Scripture, and that most grossly. *The Romans Will come, if we let this man alone*. Surely he hath pretty well played his part to bring the Romans

ix. Sp's.
Mat. 13. 25

in; for hath he not been a maine instrument to fill the Land with *Papists*, and *prophane ignorant Protestants*, not only by the publishing of that *prophane Booke of Sports* (lately burned in *Cheapside*) where with the whole Land hath been *poysoned*, but by stopping the free course of *Preaching Gods Word*, cropping off both branch and fruite of all *godlinesse* and *sound knowledge*, and by placing his *prophane*, and *Popishly affected*, *avaritious*, and *ambitious Priests*, and the *Courts favourites*, in all the chiefe places of the *Kingdome* : so as no marvaile it is, if by the industry of this man (th' enemy who hath sowed his *rarees* in every field of this *Kingdome*, while men slept) the *Pope* never had such a *harvest* in *England*. And surely never had the *Pope* such a *deliperate power*, and *numerous party* in *England*, and there collected out of all *Popish Countreies* round about, waging warre against our *Lawes and Liberties*, *Religion and Republick*, and all to reduce (by *solemn and fast league with Rome*) *England* back againe to the *Pope*, as being one of those that are made drunke with the *Whoores cup*, and doe give up their *Kingdome unto the Beast*, who now altogether make warre with the *Lamb*, and those on his side, called, and chosen, and faithfull : so that *Popery* is that grand *Seet*, the *Grandam* of all divisions, especially of this great one, between *King and Kingdome*, *Head and Body*, *Husband and Wife*, *Father and Children* ; a right *Babylonish* division, which tends to *confusion*. But his aym was against *godly people*, who separating from his *Hierarchy*, he brands with *sects and divisions*; and therein comprehendeth and condemneth, the very body of the *Kingdom*, the which hath cast out both *Bishops* and their *Service books* for which he styles us all *Sects*, &c. But I trust *God* will so *blesse* these *Sects*, that they shall be the *Angel* with the *sharp sickle* to cut down the *Popes Harvest* in this Land, never hence-forth to reap any more in *England*. And as for that place of the *Apostle*, the *Hypocrite* doth most *falsly* apply it unto himself, as he doth all other *Scripture*. For his *honour is dishonour*, his *good report is evill*, and this *deceiver is truly so*, living and dying.

* 2 Cor.
6. 7.

Next he tells us what a *good Protestant* the *King* is. Truly if he be not so *good*, as he would have him, the fault is not the *Prelates*. And what *good counsell* he hath given him, both his *practises*, and his *Epistle Dedicatory* before his *Relation*, (besides his *conscience*) can tell.

Here he complains of the *City*, for that *fashion in gathering of bands*, and going to the *Parliament* to *clamour for Justice*, as being a *disparagement* to that great and just *Court* ; a *Way* to *indanger the innocent*, and *pluck innocent blood upon their owne*, and *Cities head*. How? What a *disparagement* doth he finely cast upon that great and wise *Court*, as if any such *clamour* should extort from them any *act of injustice*, as thereby

to condemn the innocent? Indeed if that Honourable Court were as those Pharisees in Stephens case, and as Herod in Peters, having killed James, to whom this man compares our Parliament, as not daring to do any thing in this kind, till they saw how the people were affected: it were some thing. But here this Serpent slyly stings both People and Parliament. But was there not a cause? And for his bidding take heed of having our hands full of blood: surely this is the ready way to free both land and hand from the guilt of innocent blood, when justice is hastened upon the heads of those, who have shed it. *Tis true, God hath his owne time:* but we must serve his divine providence, by doing our dutie, and using the meanes. Therein is our discharge, and safetie. And he might as well blame Gods Elect, for crying day and night to the great Judge to avenge their cause. Surely if Gods wisdom and carefull providence over his people were hereby eclipsed, hee would not animate them thus to cry and importune him continually, and **not to faint, but sharply reprove them, and forbid them so to doe,* as here the Prelate doth. Therefore certainly in calling for justice, not only of God, but of man, who sits in Gods throne for that end, is the peoples dutie, who ought to obey God, rather than a Prelate, who is so unreasonably partiall in his owne cause.

Luk. 18. 7

* V. 1. ubi
exhortat.

Those places, Psal. 9. and Heb. 12. he miserably applies: he would now in that impenitent and desperate condition be that poore man, whose complaint God remembers: and those fearfully to fall into the hands of the living God, who have passed, or procured the sentence of condemnation, & execution, & especially when now God is making his inquisition for blood. So he. And surely in this good season of Gods inquisition for blood, it hath pleased him to find out this Achan, who hath cunningly, even to the last houre, (not as Achan, glorifying God by confession, as before) hid all his stolen goods, the wedge of gold, the Babylonish garment, the two hundred shekels of silver, all his under-hand dealings for the undoing of this Kingdome, in the hollow of his false heart; and had not both Parliament and People bestirred themselves in the discoveries, he had been too nimble for us all. But God (I say) was pleased to use the industry of his people, to find out this foxes holes:

But besides all this, O the impudencie of this wretched man, in commending to this Citty the consideration of that Prophecie, Ier. 26. 15. they are the words of the Prophet Ieremiah to the Princes of Iudah and Jerusalem: The words are these (though they are not set forth in the Sermon, but only the place quoted with a speciall recommendation to this Citty; and whether he spake them on the scaffold, I know not, for I was not there) *As for mee, behold I am in your hand: doe with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But knowe is for certaine, that if yee put me to death, yee shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves; and upon this Citty, and upon the Inhabitants thereof:*

for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you, to speake all these words in your eares. Now could this man possibly beleewe, that any in this Citie should be so simple, as to beleewe him? Or could he beleewe, that this Scripture should perswade the Citie, or Parliament, Princes, and People, to doe as the words follow declare, (vers. 16.) *Then said the Princes and all the People unto the Priests, and to the Prophets; This man is not worthy to dye: for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God?*

Here this Porcupine strikes himselfe thorow with his owne quills. Hee complaines for the poore Church of England: and that is his *Hierarchy*, that that once flourished (as once the Abbeyes and Monasteris did) and was a shelter to other neighbouring Churches. What? To the Church of Scotland? wittnesse his reformed Service-booke, and his animating the King with his Army against them, for casting out such *merchants* and *merchandise*. Or that of Ireland, which he had filled with his *Arminian* and *superstitious Priests*, and helped to make that land a field of bloud, a shambles to butcher those hundred thousands of innocent Protestant Subjects; as good a Protestant as himselfe is, or his confederates.

In everie cleft of this selfe-divided Kingdome, profanenesse (he saith) and irreligion hath crept in. Now truly himselfe was the prime wood-cleaver, that drave in the first wedges, and thereby brought in by the head and eares all profanenesse and irreligion, which leaking, yea flowing in so fast, have well nigh drowned the ship. But stay, what meanes this profanenesse and irreligion, which the Prelate here tels us of? he shall be his owne interpreter. In his Relation, in the Epistle Dedicatorie, he tels the King saying, *Though I cannot prophesie, yet I feare, that Atheisme and irreligion gather strength, while the truth is thus weakened by an unworthy way of contending.* And p. 19. *The externall worship of God, in his Church, is the great witnesse to the world, that our hearts stand right in the service of God. Take this away, or bring it into contempt, and what light is there left to shine before men, that they may see our devotion, and glorifie our Father which is in Heaven?* The result is (as the Replyer cleareth) that the neglect or contempt of his externall worship, is that which bringeth in profanenesse and irreligion; that is, *Not to set the face in a right posture towards the East in our devotion: not to bow to an Altar: not to kneele at the Sacrament: not to use a faire white Surplice, and black hood in Administration: not to baptize with the signe of the Crosse: not to say second service &c.* all this shewes, that our hearts stand not right in the service of God; that without these, no light is left to shine before men, that they may see our Devotion, and glorifie our Father which is in heaven. O notorious hypocrisie! O egregious impietie, thus to abuse Scripture, and all true religion! So as Prophets speech here alleaged by him, hits him full home: *Men that introduce profanenesse*

profaneness (which is done by a false Religion and Devotion of mans deviling) are cloaked with a name of imaginary Religion. And what is Imagerie in worship, but an imaginarie Religion? And if wee have in a manner almost lost the substance, we may thank his Ceremonies for it: and for the danger the land is now in, threatening ruine, the Lord prevent it by the just ruine of this man, that hath been a maine instrumentall cause of it.

He comes * here to his last particular, which is himself. * He makes a *solemn* * *pag. 13*
Protestation of his Religion to be Protestant, but with this limitation, in reference to the Church of England only; not to other Protestant Churches: for no Protestant Churches are *Episcopall*, but this. This therefore he sticks to; in this profession he was born, lived, and will now dye: He *disclaims the bringing in of Popery into this Land*. Now what should be the meaning of this *Mystery*, considering all his indeavours and practises have tended, and contended, to reduce this his Church to as near a conformity with Rome, as possibly may be? For (excepting the differences in *Doctrine*) take the whole *Hierarchy, Government, Discipline, Officers, Services, Ceremonies, Vestments*, and all other implements; we find the Church of England to be one and the same with that of Rome, as the Prelate affirmeth; for which, see my Reply, from pag. 63. to 69. How then is it true, that he is no *setter up, or bringer in of Popery*, as he protesteth? surely two ways: * First, because he found some old *Reliques of Rome*, in the *Kings Chappells*, and some Cathedralls, as an *Altar, Images, Adorations, Organ-Service, Copes*, and the like. Therefore he makes a shift by piecing it out with some forced interpretations of the *Queens Injunctions*, and with improvement of the *Service Booke*, and other *vis & modis*, to bring in a generall conformity to those paterns, and that under a specious colour of *uniformity*, a very Laudable thing in a Kingdom; especially. *Regis ad Exemplum*, that all should be of the *Kings Religion*, or the Religion of his Chappell, every *Daughter-Church to conform to the Mother, the Cathedral*; and thus all being raised up to one conformity, it came to passe, that both Iesuits on the one side boasted, that the Church of England was turned Roman, and some bold Ministers began to tell tales in the Pulpit, and at last, to write and publish Bookes of it, though to their cost. This is the Golden lease wherewith the Prelate hath Gilded over his Protestation for currant, for which he flies and layes hold on the *Hornes of the Altar*, in the *Kings Chappell*, his most sacred *Sanctuary*. His * other, is a word of *Equivocation*, which is *Popery*. He distinguisheth *Popery*, into *Proper and Improper*, or *lesse proper*. *Popery*, taken properly, is that, whereof the Pope is sole *Head and Master*: And this is that *Popery*, which he here protesteth he never intended, or endeavoured to set up in the Church of England, to wit, the *universall Headship of the Pope*, which the Logitians call, *proprium quarto modo*;

* Religion, Epistle Ded. pag. 16. Amos 7. 13.

See my book for God and the king.

* See his Speech Starcham ber.

do; that is, such as is proper to the Pope, and onely to the Pope, and alwayes to the Pope: as laughing is said to be proper to man, alone, & at all times. The Prelate then would not have such a Popery set up in the Propriety of it, as should exalt the P. over the See of Canterbury, to over-top the Metropolitan of all England. What then? He would have no other Popery set up in England, then that only, which is lesse proper, or improperly called Popery, or rather a thing that is Popery, but must not be called Popery. And that is, *That the Pope shall be Head, or Bishop of the Church of Rome, and the Arch-bishop of Canterbury shall be an Independent Primate, and Metropolitan of all England, and the Pope is have nothing to doe here, but himselfe alone to be Dominus fac totum.* Onely with this Reserve, that this Primate become Pope, when time serves. And it seemes he takes it as a deed if gift from the Pope, which he gave to the Prelate Predecessor, *Anselm*, to whom the Pope gave this Title, *stiling him, Patriarcha alterius orbis*: the Patriarch, or Pope of the other World, meaning England; of which the Roman Poet writ of old, *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. And thus, it seemes, it descended upon the Successors of Canterbury by an hereditary right from the Pope. And therefore not without cause doth the Prelate make mention hereof in his * Relation, telling us, that a Patriarch is above a Prelate; so expert was he in the learning of Ecclesiasticall Heraldry for Titles, and Degrees. And thus we come to understand what he means by making profession of the Protestant Religion of the Church of England; namely, that this Religion is not Popery properly taken, but only improperly, as hath been said. So as herein we may give credit to his words in some sence, both for himselfe and his friends, whom he so highly magnifies for good Protestants of the Church of England. This is that true Protestant Religion, which they so much profess by hooke or crooke to maintaine.

* P. 171
See Reply p.
263:264

Touching his Treason in subverting the Laws, and perverting of Religion; it matters not for all his protestations, that he never intended, but ever abhorred it; for all things were clearly, and fully proved in Court against him. His Protestations of his innocency have been too well knowne, as well as others, what credit they deserve. A man commits many Murthers, and pleades he abhorres to be a murderer. He kills, slayes, slaughters innocent Protestant Subjects, and protests he intends the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion. Will this hold good in Law? or yet in the Courts of Conscience?

For his contempt of Parliaments, this was also proved against him; and he here in part confesseth it. And in the close, he forgives all the world. He cries Thiese first, calling all his Persecutors his bitter enemies. He forgives them, he saith, but he giveth them a cruell dash, calling them bitter enemies, who did but in a legall way, and just cause prosecute him, as a grand enemy both to Religion, and to the Republicke. Therefore what kind of forgiveness this is, God knowes, when it so ends in a most bitter calumination.

But

But he asks forgiveness of God; and then of every man, whether I have (saith he) offended him or no, if he but conceive that I have. Alas, what a pitifull shutting is here? Here is a generall asking of forgiveness: but for what? here is no acknowledgement of any sin against God, of of any one offence or injury to any man. And thus all may plainly see how this Hypocrite and Impostor playes mock-holi-day, he asks forgiveness of every man, whether he hath offended him or no. Why? what needs forgiveness, when no offence given or taken. But he? Why, if he do but conceive that I have. Oh tender heart! But here he would make the world believe, that none can challenge him for wrong; unless in conceits only, tis but a conceit that men have only, that the good Bishop of Canterbury should do the least wrong to any man living. For what say you to that Speech of his in his Relation to the King? God forbid, I should ever offer to perswade a persecution in any kind; or practice it in the least. Tis but a conceit then that the Prelate of Canterbury should be either a persecutor; or a perswader thereof. A conceit, that he should perswade, that the terrible censure in the Star-Chamber against those his three bitter men (as he calls them) should be executed to the uttermost, although he left them to the Kings Justice? A conceit that he should use the least meanes to promote the Judges a little before the censure, though he made a great feast at Lambeth. A conceit, that he should be an instrument of persecution, to whom poore petitioners to the King, about the booke of sports, were referred for mercie, where none could be had or hoped for.

And thus he concludes, *Lord, doe thou forgive me, and I begge forgiveness of him.* Of whom? Of one, whether I have offended him or no; if he doe but conceive that I have. What juggling is here? No sparke of ingenuity, or truth in all this, nor all along. Well, but what then? So (saith he) I heartily desire you to joine with me in prayer.

Nay say, He should have remembered that saying of Christ, *Matth. 5. 23, 24.* If thou bring thy gift before the Altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the Altar, and go thy way first, be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine Adversary quickly. &c. Now the Prelate here brings his gift to the Altar; he hath a Prayer in his hand in stead of his heart to offer: but he should remember, that not one brother, but many have great, and grievous things against him. Therefore before he read his Prayer, he should have rubb'd up his old rusty memory, and called for those who had many things against him, and have made his peace with them. He should have called for all those Preachers, whom he had wickedly & Prelatically Suspended, Silenced, Deprived, thrust out of their Means, with their wives & children exposed to beggary & misery,

Jer. 2. 34.

among many others, Mr. *Rudd* of *Abington*, Mr. *Barnard*, Mr. *Fabis*, Mr. *Ward*, &c. He should have called for all those godly Preachers and Christians whom his bloody cruelty caused to fly into the Deserts of *America*, as Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. *Peter*, with many thousands more. He should have called for all those Congregations, whose soules he had famished by taking away their godly teachers, the blood of whose soules were found so be upon his skirts, and under his wings. He should have called for all those whom he had most cruelly, and against all justice, caused to be imprisoned, pilloryed, eare-cropped, branded, whipped, fined, confined to perpetuall close imprisonment, and that in perpetuall banishment from their native country, from society of wives, children, freinds, acquaintance, common light and ayre, and what not? As Mr. *William Pryn*, Doctor *Balwick*, *Henry Burton*, Doctor *Leighton*, Mr. *John Lilburne*, *Nathaniell Wickins*, all which, with many more, indured intollerable, inhumane, and most barbarous usage in their prisons and persons. These, these should he have called for to have made his peace with them, by at least acknowledging his extreame wronging of them, as having beene the prime instrumentall cause thereof, though otherwise he could never make them *restitution* for their cares, nor satisfaction for their losses. But he should have done to the uttermost what lay in his power, before he should go on so desperately to offer his *Sacrifice* of Payer at Gods *Altar*. He should have put it past *If* and *And* whether he had offended any, or no, as if any did but *conceive* so. But so far was he from shewing the least *ingenuity*, or from having the least dramme of grace, as that he refused to be spoken withall by any, whom hee had wronged, much lesse would he acknowledge the least offence done to any, either in his life, or now at his death. But as a man bereft of his common senses, stript of his understanding, beaumb'd with a lethargy, senselesse, brutish, blinde, obdurate, he persists in his Diabollicall impenitencie, acknowledging not the least offence to *Man* in all his *Life*, of which to repent, hoping thereby after his *Death* to meritt this Inscription upon his Tombe, *Here lies the most Innocent Archbishop of Canterbury.*

But now, can he not be content to die in his owne sins, but he must heartily desire the people to *joyne* with him in his most hypocriticall, dead, lame, blind, Prayer, that he brought with him in his hand, as a *price* in the *fooles* hand, but he *wants a heart*? Had he not sufficiently captivated the people to such blind devotion by his *Servile-book Prayers*? And had not this *old Arch-bishop* in all the time he lived, got one Prayer, at least by heart, though he wanted grace in his heart, & Christs Spirit, even the Spirit of Grace and Supplication (which for any evidence he hath given, he never had in all his life) to powre forth one true sigh of godly sorrow now

at his death: Here be many goodly words indeed compiled together, but all will not make up one *prayer of Faith*, being but as a dumbe Image without life and breath, or like *Cæsar's Sacrifice without a heart*, which was taken for a presage of death, as proved true the same day.

Again, should the *people* become accessory to all the hypocricie, dissimulation, and inpenitencie of this wretched man, who would wrappe up all his villanies committed in & against the State of this Kingdome, & all Godsfaithfull people therein, by *sayning with him* in such a godlesse, spirit-lesse Prayer, even the dead carcasie of a prayer, a blind and lame sacrifice, which the Lord abhorreth, and forbids to be offered?

Deut.

15. 21.

Exod. 307

Besides, as the whole *prayer* for the frame of it, is not an Incense according to Christs spirit, but patched, and made up of sundrie ingredients of a most hypocriticall spirit, which makes the whole prayer to be a very packe of lies, and so, abominable before God: so there are some passages in it, so grosse, and palpable, as any one that hath the least sparke of Gods spirit, may discover plainly to be monstrous false, As 1. That *he hath a heart ready to dy for Gods honour: and yet he will not confesse any one particular wickednesse*, that he might with *Achan* give glory to God. 2. *For the Kings happinesse*: when yf either he counselled the King to all those courses, so destructive both to himselfe and kingdome; or yf hee by obeying the Kings command, in being an active instrument of all those cruell oppressions perpetrated by him, upon the innocent subjects, and exorbitant, illegall, violent, tyrannicall invasions upon the just lawes of the kingdome, and naturall liberties of the subiect, be thus by the *lawes* of the kingdome, and a due proceeding therein, brought to this just penall death: surely, this can liule make for the *Kings happinesse*; unlesse the cutting off of such limbes as these, and so of this active instrument of mischief in paticular, may be a meanes to procure the *Kings happinesse*, in case such Heads so cut off, prove not the heads of the Roman *Hydra*, which upon the cutting off of one head, puts forth two, untill the whole *Lerna-Lake* shall be quite drained and dried up; otherwise, he, whose life hath but a litle advanced the *Kings happinesse*, can give but litle hope of raising it by such a death, the just reward of a traitour. Thirdly, *for this Churches preservation*, by which he alwayes understands his *Hierarchy*, or the *protestant Religion of the Church of England*, (as before) there cannot be a more sure *Omen* of the utter ruine of that, as whose Primacy is so cut off by the hatchet of Justice in the Hangmans hand.

Again, he boldly tells God, *that his zeale to these stores, is all the sin, which he knowes is yet knowne of him in this particular of Treason*. Did his zeale then so far transport him, as to wade so deepe through so ma-

ny acts of treason to the State, as to play the *Traitor* for the honour of God, surely God will not be honoured with any such service.

And as for his zeale to the Kings happinesse, no miracle if it were so fiery, as to become an *Incendiary* to the State, and all for the preservation of *this his Church*, which could not be preserved, but with the extreame hazard, if not utter ruine of three kingdoms; so as such a preservation purchased at so deare a rate, could be as little for the Kings honour, as for his happinesse, when three kingdoms should rather welter in their owne blood, then the *Prelaticall kingdom* should not wallow in all its pompe and pleasure. and indeed the zeale hereof in all Ages, hath bene that, which hath set the kingdoms of the Earth in such horrible combustions, as at length it hath growne to be a *Proverbe* of the Prelates owne making, *No Bishop, no King*: and so, *No Bishoppricke or Bishopdome, no Kingdome*:

He prayes also, that there may be a stop of that issue of blood, in this more then miserable Kingdome. Here it may be questioned what he meanes by this issue of blood. If he meane the stopping of the course of Justice in cutting off such Traytors, as himselfe: this is to pray that this more then miserable Kingdome, may be made more then most miserable. If he meane the stopping of the now issue of blood, that is & hath been shed by this intestine and unnaturall warre, whereby the Beasts power seekes to destroy the Lambs Kingdome with his called, and chosen, and faithfull people: This should extreemly aggravate, and make the sin of this Prelate out of measure sinfull, as who hath been one prime instrument and bloody agent to procure all this blood-shed.

But that which followeth, surpasseth all transcendency of the malice and wickednesse of hell it selfe. *I shall desire* (saith he) *that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my selfe*: O Lord, I beseech thee give grace of repentance to all people, that have a thirst for blood, but if they will not repent, then scatter their devices, &c. Here 1. he makes it plaine, that what hee prayed before, was for himselfe, and his party; and that the issue of blood on his part might be stoppt; as before. 2. The maine of his prayer is, to lay the guilt of all the blood that hath been shed in this war, upon the Parliament and people, especially this City, that stand for their Rights, as a people that thirst for blood: whereof if they repent not, that then their devices may be scattered, as being contrary to Gods glory, the truth and sincerity of Religion, (to wit) of Popery (as before is shewed) to the establishment of the King and his Posterity after him in their just Rights and Priviledges (to wit) in an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall government; whereby the Tyrannicall Prelacy, the truth & sincerity of the Popish Religion, may be supported and maintained: for which very cause all this bloody war hath bene raised and continued in Ireland and England, wherein so many

hundred thousand of innocent people, & loyall Subjects, have been most barbarously murdered, and for no other cause, but that they bare the name of Protestants, only not such Protestants as could be hoped to profess the *true Protestant Religion of the present Church of England*, the truth and sincerity of which Religion is *Papery*; improperly so called, as before shewed.

But he adds: *For the honour and conservation of Parliaments, in their ancient and just power.* Note here: never a prayer in particular for this present Parliament, but for Parliaments in generall, and that also with a limitation, in *their ancient and just power.* And what is that? Namely so farre as standeth with the *Kings Prerogative*; according to that new clause lately foisted into the Kings Oath at his Coronation, by the Legierd-main of this Jugler, *to govern his people according to the Lawes, and maintain their Rights and Liberties*; But with this Proviso, *so far as stands with the Kings Prerogative.* Which Legier-de-main was one of those Charges proved against the Prelate in the Honourable House of Peeres, so as in these words, *ancient and just power*, doth larek a great deal of serpentine deceit; that all this *ancient and just power* comes to *just nothing*, further then with reference unto, and dependences upon the *Kings Prerogative*. Such are the *lie equivocations*, and *mentall reservations* of this subtle serpent all along in this his pretended prayer, wherein he thus desperately dallyeth with God and men.

Then, *For the preservation of this poore Church, in her truth, peace, and patrimony.* This poore Church, to wit, the late and yet proud Prelacy: her truth, such as is regulated by her Canons; with an *Et cetera*: her Peace, for which shee hath caused troubles and war in these Kingdomes: her *Patrimony*, a part of *Peters Patrimony*, for the support of her truth & peace, that which this Prelate in his Relation of a conference, tooke all that paines about for the *blessed meeting of Truth and Peace*, (as he calls it) in reconciling of Rome and England together, as hee professeth throughout his booke, and in the very last page and words thereof.

He adds, *And the settlement of this distracted and distressed people, &c.* Whatsoever he prayes here, is with reference to the *truth, peace, and patrimony of his poore Church*, and therefore it is added with a Copulative, *and the settlement, &c.*

And hereunto hee adds another *And*: *And when all this is done, that then they may be thankfull, with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandments.* Here they must take notice, that there is no such blessing, for which to be thankfull, as the up-holding of the Prelates Protestant Religion; *When this is done, then fill their hearts with thankfulness.* But how can dutifull obedience to Gods Commandments, and to Prelate

- call Canonick Commandments, stand together? For what more contrary and opposite one to the other, then Christs Commandments to Antichrists? We have had wofull experience hereof. Christ commands to
 2 Tim. 4. 2 *preach the Word in season, and out of season*: the Prelates forbid Lectures on week dayes, and Sermons in the afternoone on Lords dayes.
 1 Th. 4. 23. God commands to *worship him in spirit and truth*: Prelates command to worship God by humane forms, by Images, by Adorations towards the East, with many other superstitious Ceremonies of mans devising.
 Deut. 5. God commands his *Sabboths or Lords dayes* to be *sanctified*: Prelates suspend Ministers for not reading the book for *profane sports* on these dayes, with infinite more.

He closes all, with a *Lord receive my soule to mercy*: adding, *Our Father, &c.* Now what hath an impenitent hard hearted hypocrite to doe with *mercy*? All that hee hath here prayed, or rather babbled out of a paper, is but meerly to delude the people, and to mocke God even to his face. Never came there such a forlorne and formidable spectacle upon stage or scaffold, to act the hypocrites part, so that, as he was a seducer & deceiver all his life time: so hee will dye. The reply to the Relation, hath set him forth in his colours long before, prophesying of his caried end, which we see now fulfilled, as also of the terrible iudgments and calamities that should fall upon his Prelaticall Clergy of England, together with his Protestant Religion, alias Popery, though but improperly so called.

Reply, p.
 74. 405.
 86. 87.
 Printed
 1640.

Relation
 p. 80. p. 83.
 84. 85. See
 Redly.

He complains for want of *Room* to dye, which he needed not: for he had too much of *Room*, that brought him to dye. *I beseech you* (saith he) *let me have an end of this misery*. For all this hast, hee should have laid a better and surer foundation to build his hope upon, for freedome from a future misery, both infinitely durable, and extreemly intollerable, then yet we have seene in him. Nor could he finde a word in Scripture to satisfie Sir John Clotworthie's question, for any assurance that hee had of a better life. And just was this with God the righteous Iudge, that as hee was a great decryer and vilifier of the Scripture, as: *The light which is in Scripture is selfe, is not bright enough, is cannot beare sufficient witness so it selfe: That the beliefs of Scripture to be the Word of God, dependeth primarily upon the authority & tradition of the present Church: That it is a candle which hath no light, till it be lighted, which is first by the tradition of the present Church.* That notwithstanding these and many more most grosse derogations from the selfe-sufficiency, authority, and light of Scriptures to demonstrate it selfe to be the word of God, he saith, *hee hath given so the Scripture enough, and more then enough, &c.* Iust (I say) was it with God, that this wretched Prelate, for so vilifying, yea annihilating the

the sufficiency of Scripture-light, should bee left altogether without so much light, as to light him to so much as one place of Scripture, that might minister unto him some solid comfort at the houre of his death. As some Malefactors trusting to their neck-veers, when they came before the Iudge, were not able to read one word of the booke. And though he said to Sir John, that *that word was the knowledge of Iesus Christ, and that alone*: yet this gracelesse wretch was never acquainted with this knowledge of Iesus Christ. For he was a perpetuall enemy to Iesus Christ, a crael persecutor of his Saints, a hater of his Word, an oppressor of the power of godlinesse, where ever hee found it. This wretch never knew Iesus Christ in the power of his Resurrection, in the fellowship of his afflictions, in a conformity to his death. He never had Christs spirit, and therefore was none of Christs. He had not the spirit of grace & supplication, he had not the spirit of prayer even unto his death, as hee had been a quencher of this spirit of prayer, in all those in whom he perceived it to be. For he was altogether for book-prayers, as here he was at his death. Such was his last prayer, which was in his hand: And this prayer (if a prayer) is to be interpreted as the former, *all for mercy, but without repentance: for this Kingdome*, but in reference to Tyranny, to his Protestant Religion, to this his Church of England. Thus he dyes one that was ever true to his old principles, as in his life, so at his death, and thus hee is as good as his word in his Relation, where he tells the King thus: *In the publishing hereof, I have obeyed your Majesty, discharged my duty to my power, to the Church of England, given account of the hope that is in me, & so testified to the world that faith, in which I have lived, and by Gods blessing & favour purpose to dye.* Now concerning this faith of his, and that of Rome, there is no more difference between them, then that distinction which himselfe hath put (mentioned before) to wit, Popery, properly so called, and popery improperly so called.

Phil. 3. 20.

Rom. 8.

Epist. ded.
page 12.

I shall conclude with a passage or two in my Reply written in my banishment at Guernsey above foure yeares agoe, in Answer to the Prelates Relation, towards the end. *Bethinke your selfe how suddaine the time may be, that you must goe and give account (as you say) to God and Christ, of the talents committed to your charge, which you cannot so easily answer before that Iudge, as you could doe in the Star-Chamber. And remember what you said to the Iesuit: Our reckoning will be heavier, if wee thus mislead on either side, then theirs that follow us. But I see I must looke to my selfe, for you are secure. And are not you full on as secure, as the Iesuit? But in that, you say that God for Christs sake would be mercifull to you. But is that enough to wipe off all old scores, to say, God be mercifull to me? when the whole course of a mans life hath bene a very enmity and rebellion against Christ: When his*

Page 402.

Relation.
page 116.

lyeth,

both, spends and squandereth the talent of of his strength and wit, learning, means and friends, to the dishonour of God, in oppressing Christs word, persecuting his servants and members, profaning and polluting the service of God with superstitious inventions of men, and Will-worship, forcing mens consciences to conformity, using all cruelty, even to blood, and the like, with Lord have mercy upon me without any more ado, serve the turn, to save all again. But where is your hearty repentance, for all your Scarlet and Episcopall sin? your high Commission fine? your Star-chamber fine? your Council table fine? Nay? is not your soule conscience still seared and stupified? is not your heart still hardened? O stupid conscience? O desperate soule? O shamelesse Hypocrite? O blasphemous wretch? Dost thou thanke God, to make him the author of all thy impiety, iniquity, cruelty, craft, hypocrisie, & dissimulation, of thy faithlesse and false heart, in thy plotting to bring thy false truth & thy turbulent peace with the Whore of Babylon (that notorious enemy of Christ, and of his true Spouse his Church) to a meeting, a blessed meeting, yea, to a cursed meeting? This is that Peace and Truth, which you contend for; for the procuring and meeting whereof, all truth shall be corrupted, and peace perturbed, not only in the Churches, but in Civill States and Kingdoms, when for the maintenance of your Truth & Peace, Princes shall be set against their People, and People forced to stand for their Liberties against Prelaticall usurpation, and Tyrannicall Invasion,

But I conclude; if such was his deplored condition then, as to ly naked to such language; how is the measure thereof now filled up, in an obstinate out-facing & maintaining all his wickednesses, perpetrated since that, till now, and that before the high bar of the Kindome, the very Tribunall of God, and at last upon the very Scaffold, pouring out his blood in a most obdurate, desperate, and finall impenitency? O that this might be an example to all that tread in his steps. It is very observable by common experience in the e dayes, that a malignant and godlesse life, hath an impenitent and desperate death. This is that Canterburian Arch-Prelate, in his life time heire-apparant to the Pope-dome, subtle, false, treacherous, cruel, carrying two faces under one hood, Sathans second childe, who ever is the first, as hard to speake truth, as to do good, or to repent of any evil, as his Father the Devill, an inveterate adversary to Christ, and all true Christians, an underminer of the Civill State, a Traitor to his Countrey, wilfully damning his owne soule, to save the credit of his cursed cause, sealing with his blood the Kings part, with Romes, to be righteous, & the Parliaments odious, that so he might be as unlike to *Sampson*, as possible, to do as much (if not more) mischief to his native countrey at his death, as he had done in his life; and therefore worthy to have dyed the ancient death of parricides, or Traytors to their Countrey, which the ancient Romans used, to be sewed up in a Callesse or leather sacke, and cast into the water, and there to perish, as unworthy to touch either earth, or water, or ayre, as Natures owne-cast.

FINIS.





MERCVRIVS AVLICVS

Communicating the Intelligence and

affaire of the Court, to the rest

of the KINGDOME.



From Decemb. 29. to Jan. 5. 1644.

SUNDAY. Decemb. 29.



He Rebels are grown perfect by this *Tricennial Rebellion*, and therefore search all Nations for the first they can get; among others, they have *Wallons* now quartered at *Great Marlow* in *Buckinghamshire*; some of these *Wallons* came into a house in *Marlow* on Thursday last, and demanded of the Woman what meat was ready for them, the Woman brought forth the best she had, but the Rebels swore that unless she gave them better, they would burn her Child, and one of them suddenly took her little Child and cast it into the fire, which (with much ado) was rescued thence by an English Lieutenant, who very hardly saved the Childs life. We question not of what Church these *Wallons* were, but if they fall short, the Rebels have of other sorts, particularly a Native *Turke*, who having been a Pyrate, is thereby so qualified for the Rebels service, that the good Earle of *Warwick* hath made him Captain of the *George Bonaventure*; not only as he is a *Turke* (to this day unchristened) but because of his Piracy, which fitted him for his purpose that had rob'd His Majesty of all His ships.

A

MONDAY.

MONDAY. Decemb. 30.

But 'tis not sufficient they are thus barbarously wicked, unlesse they transmit their guilt unto others; For as in the late Sieges of *Basing* and *Banbury*, the Rebels took the Lead off *Basing* Church, fired *Banbury* Steeple, and then gave it out that the Garrisons did it; so the Brethren at *Warwick* have lately burnt to ashes the Earle of *Middlesex* his house at *Milcor* in *Gloucestershire*, and yet have the modesty to tell us this week in print, that *Milcor House* was fired by the Cavaliers; they may as well tax us for counterfeiting the *Great-Scall*, or for hiring the *Scots* to the invasion of *England*.

Nay it is most notorious, that the Rebels clamour loudest against their own designe, at that very instant when they are in labour with it; particularly *M. Browne* of *Abingdon* cries out against Treachery, when himselfe was busy tampering to practise upon *Oxford*; But because he and his friends make such a noyse with Treachery, it will not be amisse to take notice here, how *Browne* having long and industriously sought by the meanes of one *Mr Bernard* a Minister and Kinsman of his, to be understood a Convert from his former Rebellious opinions; & that he would give Testimonies of it by surrendering *Abingdon* to His Majesty, was at length so far hearkened to, as to receive from the *L. Digby* assurances of those advantages which he had first intimated to be principally aymed at by him. But the *L. Digby* finding delays in the performance, at length thought fit to presse him to an upshot, and in returne received this Answer.

MY LORD,

Y Our just diffidence hath broke the shell, and hatcht now at length my just defiance, and your designe (which with much ado I have perswaded to the uppermost round) is now fit to be turn'd off. Is it possible that your Lordship (my Lord Digby) should thinke his oyle so artificially mixt with his thicke, as not to betray its flattery? or that it could catch like bird-lime? Alas, my

my Lord, by perswading your selfe this, you declare to the World, that it was Honour and Courtship that was the prevailing Argument to fetch your Lordship out of that Honourable House where once you sat, but shall never have a meaner man out of Abingdon. My Lord, let this Letter be the Cypher to my former; read them over againe, and see whether they doe not all breath both in word and sense, Loyalty to His Majesty and yet full resolution to goe through with what I have undertaken. And for the designe, which I mention so much, I thanke Yours which first gave life to it; It is perfected (my Lord) it is perfected, and you may come when you will. The designe was to play with you at your owne game, till our Workes (which once were not so strong, as you have now made them, though at the weakest should have been lined with our lives) were strengthened, and accommodated with Men and Provisions, which (I thanke God) now they are, and therefore I do acquit your Lordship of all misfortunes that may befall me. Oh my Lord! be more tender of His Majesties Honours and Favours then thus to hang them out as colours to invite treachery and disloyalty to come after them. I blesse God, I have in this whole action been carefull to avoid tampering with His Majesty in things of this nature. And for that often practis'd Plot of yours (and that Jesuited Kinsman of mine) to sow jealousies between those who employ me and my actions (which shall dare to looke the world in the face) leave it my Lord, leave it; 'tis shred-bare, and rotten. And in confidence, that I have now written what your Lordship looks for, in which if you have not full satisfaction but shall scruple at any thing, if your Lordship shall please to send once more, I doe assure your Honour, your Messenger shall come and returne safe; for who knows but that your Lordship (in whom there is so much ingenuity) may not onely now read me right in my intentions, but also hereafter give me thanks for my reality. I am

My Lord,

Abingdon the 19th
Decemb. 1644.

Your Honours most humble Servant

RICHARD BROWNE.

Post-script

My Lord you have hang'd a Spye (as you say) of mine, whom

I know not but you may be ballanced in this also, this very morning I will cause to be hanged one of yours condemned by our Conneck of Warre sixe weeks since, according to an Ordinance of Parliament, resolving never to be ont done by you either in Civility or Justice.

To this Letter of Brownes this annexed from the L. Digby was returned not without some secret wonder at so temperate (not to say) so tame a Reply to so sharp a provocation.

S I R,

I shall make use of the Liberty which you allow me to send to you once more.

I professe I am very sorry to find my wishes and my hopes of your returning to your Duty and Loyalty in so usefull a manner to the publique as you might have done, deceived: but my confidence I assure you you have not abused, for I seldome ground that but upon great probability of their integrities with whom I deale, a foundation which I could not well looke for from a Person that had already forfeited his Allegiance; and you must excuse me from believing that what you have done now proceeds from any firmnesse to your owne principles, in that which you your selfe thinke honest (how erroneously soever) but rather from some new and greater corruption of interest on that side, then what was proposed to you on this, whereof I make no doubt but the World will be a right Judge, when by the publishing what hath passed between us, it shall appeare how industriously and how mercenarily you long courted your owne corruption, before I ever provoke you to it, and offer'd unto you those rewards which I did, as to a prostituted not a solicited Person who henceforwards must necessarily be infamous of all sides, on this, both for Treason and treachery, on the other, for having with such solemn renuntiatiions of what you now seem to think honest, so long acted a part whereunto no man can be tempted without infamy, so far as you went uninvited, unlesse upon a sincere alteration of judgement, which no provocations can make me so uncharitable

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charitable, as not to wish still most heartily, to you and all your party, and then I shall againe subscribe my selfe

Your friend to serve you

GEORGE DIGBY.

TUESDAY. Decemb. 31.

But since we mention Treachery; we cannot passe Sir *John Price* his Worship (now the Rebels Governour of *Mongomery* Castle) who this day seavenight (Decemb. 24.) came with all his Rebels to fall on Sir *William Vaughan* Governour of *Shrewarden* Castle in *Shropshire*, but Sir *William* by his Scouts having intelligence of their designe, resolved to give the Rebels a meeting, which he did at *Welchpoole*, where he so knockt Sir *John Price*, that many of his men lay dead in the place, besides good store wounded, 47 prisoners taken, 64 Horse, with very many Armes, whereof 22 case of faire new Pistolls, all which Sir *William Vaughan* brought away with him to his Garrison. But Sir *John Price* little thought to be beaten by so small a force, for his confidence was in his friend Sir *Thomas Middleton*, whom he knew to be nigh at hand, upon his Retreat from his House at *Chirk Castle*, where he hath been handsomely welcomed by Lieutenant Colonell *Watts* Lieutenant Colonell to the Lord *Capell*, as you shall heare more particularly next week. This Sir *John Price* is grown so extream barbarous, that he burnes up all before him, for he fires the houses both of Rich and Poore, though they stand farre from Garrisons unserviceable to either side.

WEDNESDAY. January. 1.

And because the Rebels are so quick at firing Houses, 'twere fit to begin where these spoylers nestle, which was seasonably put in practice by the Lord *Astley* this morning; For being at *Cyreneester* in *Glocestershire* (which place he hath made a strong Garrison for His Majesty) he understood much mischief done to the Country by three score Rebels in *Lippate* House,

(belonging to Master *Stephens* a sufficient Committee man) and therefore his Lordship came before that House this morning early, and summoned it for His Majesty; but the Rebels being obstinate, he fell on with that wonted skill and courage, that he tooke it by assault in lesse then halfe an houre; some few Rebels escaped over the wals, the rest (45 in number) his Lordship brought Prisoners into the Garrison at *Cyrencester*, with all their Armes, Victuall, & Ammunition; & lest he should be troubled with more of that kinde whom Master *Stephens* might send in, he burnt that one House to preserve many others of honest men.

THURSDAY. JANUARY 2.

This doth somewhat afflict Master *Massey*, though nothing more torments him then the Lord *Herbers* taking *Monmouth* from him, since which disaster he hath lost above 1000 men in severall places by land and water. For his late pretty Shipwrack is one of his least miseries, the particulars whereof were exactly thus. Master *Massey* having made 17 Boates at *Gloucester* (which cost above 100^l a Boate) carryed them by land through the Forest of *Deane* to *Brockweare* (a Towne lying on the River *Wye* in the middle way betwixt *Monmouth* and *Chepstow*) by meanes whereof keeping a strong Guard there, he infested all the bordering parts over the River, being ready to boat over 2 or 3000 men at halfe an houres warning, This much disheartned both *Monmouth*, *Chepstow*, and all *Monmouthshire*. Therefore on Friday was Fortnight (Dec. 13) that gallant Gentleman Sir *John Wintour* who hath given Master *Massey* many a sound remembrance, drew out 80 men from his house at *Lydney*, marched in the night 9 miles through woods and by wayes, and at 4 in the morning fell upon *Brockweare* (having ordered the Trained-Bands at and about *Chepstow* to march on the other side of the River and meet him at *Brockweare*) whereafter he had kill'd the Centry, he slew the Corporall and 4 more, tooke 19 Muskets, and 5 Prisoners, plundered some Houses (in Armes against the King) destroyed 7 of M. *Masseys* Boats. and took two of them (9 of his 17) But the Trained Bands of *Monmouthshire* failing to come

come, and those of the Forrest of *Deane* (most notorious Rebels) drawing to a head, he was forced to boat his men over the River to *Chepstow* at *Tintern Ferry* by help of the Boats he had gained from the Rebels. The Rebel-Forresters drew together, whereof about 150 passed the River in those boats which were undestroyed, and followed Sir *John Winston*, who placed Major *Myners* and Captain *Mason* with 16 Souldiers in *Mistris Berringtons* house to defend the Ferry, whilest he went to *Chepstow* and drew out the Train-bands; the Rebels beset the House, attempted to storme it; but Major *Myners* shot the Rebels chiefe Captain dead in the place, killed two other Officers, and diverse common Souldiers, so as the Rebels fled over the Water againe, not any of Sir *John Winston*'s men lost, and only one hurt.

FRIDAY. JANUARY 3.

Besides this, *M. Massey* hath more affliction on the other side of his Dominions; for his Deputies at *Malmsbury* lately made a Garrison at *Mr Blakes* House at *Pinnel* neare *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, betwixt *Chippenham* and the *Devises*, the House is pretty strong and Moated about, whereof the Lord *Goring* having intelligence, sent some force against it on Saturday last (*Decemb 28.*) at first Summons the Rebels denied to surrender, till they saw His Majesties Forces begin to fall on, and then they presently submitted themselves prisoners at mercy, and accordingly had their lives given them, in this House were taken 39 prisoners, more Armes then Men, whereof 60 good Fire locks, 6 Horses, the other were fled that morning. When the *Scoutmaster Generall* (who was sent to take possession) entred the House, the Rebels begged they might not be stripped naked, he bid them look out and they might see His Majesties Souldiers all new cloath'd, so as they would not take the Rebels cloaths if offered to them; nor was there so much as one Rebelle suffered to be plundered, though they were not promised any thing but their lives; who upon their comming forth, said, they never meant so keep it against the Kings Forces; that is, they would keep it no longer then they were able.

SATURDAY. JANUARY 4.

Now because this house was taken in *Wiltshire*, *M Ludlow* thinks.

thinks himself concerned in honour, and therefore he would needs revenge himself on His Majesties horse-quarters at *Upbaven* in this County, to which place M. *Ludlow* came with his Regiment of horse (out of which he spared fore-score on Saturday was leavenight, forso many were then taken from him at *Wilsford* near *Amesbury* by Col. *Long* High Sheriff of *Wiltshire*) and now he hoped to recruit himself on this quarter of Colonel *Anderson*, where M. *Ludlow* beat in the outguards, but found the Colonel in such readines drawne up on the other side of the Towne, that his worship was beaten back, and persued by Colonel *Anderson*, who took one Captain, one Coronet with other Prisoners. Sir *Marmaduke Langdaile* having the Alarm in his Quarters, & being in great readinesse drew out after the Rebels, whom as soon as he understood to be return'd to *Salisbury*, he resolved to talk into their Quarters, and performed it so gallantly, that he beat them all up, took almost all their Horses, and there being some Foot rettyred into the Belfrey in *Salisbury Close*, he sent for foot from *Longford* house and forced them thence, where they purposed to make a Garrison. He took in all five Captains, besides diverse other Officers, four-score Prisoners, 150 Horses and Armes, some Powder and Match, and three Colours. M. *Ludlow* himself escaped very narrowly, though very much hurt, his whole Regiment absolutely Routed. Those few which escaped fled into *Deane* house (a Garrison of the Rebels) but the Lord *Goring* sending some Horse after them found the fugitives gone thence, and the Garrison also quitted, the Rebels labouring to reach *Southampton*, to which place M. *Ludlow* was chased once this yeare before; besides his firewell at *Basing* sledge, a particular Relation whereof is now ready to come forth. As for the happy successe of His Majesties Forces in *Scotland*, under the conduct of the Lord Marquisse of *Montrose*, it was this day published in a Printed Relation of two most signall victories, obtained over those Rebels, as certain as they at *London* began their New Yeare by executing the two *Hothams*, as well the first Rebelle who kept *Hull* against the King, as the other who grew incensed that he had not kill'd the Queene, whereof more the next week.

F I N I S.



*Mercurius Britannicus.*Communicating the affaires of great
BRITAIN E.

For the better Information of the People.



1648

From Monday the 20. of January to Monday the 27. of January. 1648.

I Was once in the minde to have written a *second exposition* upon *Canterburies* Sermon; but I think our friends are sufficiently informed; and as for our *Adversaries*, there is little hope of reclaiming them: for they admire the pernicious *Pamphlets* beyond *Homilies* and *Common Prayer*; Nay, I hear that to be revenged upon *Britannicus*, they will make means that *Anlicus* shall write a vindication of his *Graces* Sermon, that were sport indeed; I'll promise ye (*Gentlemen*) to make you all merry then; for this *Quibbler*, this *Toy*, this *Squib-cracker*, this *Fire-Drake Berkenhead*, was once (to my knowledge) an *Amannensis*, that is, a *Scribe* to one of *Canterburies* *Pharisaicall* Chaplains. And I wagged some years at *Lambeth* with an *Is'ian* Inke-horne at his girdle, such a one as the *Popes* own *Secretary* wears; which never transcribed any thing but what *Mr. Lombard*, and *Mr. Leyfield* first dictated unto him: By this he may guesse I know him well enough; and now let him begin when he dare, in the behalf of his old *Master*: In the mean time we have him here in the old habit, a poor thin, single *Rag*, thred-bare transitory *Staffe*, but faced fairly with *Rebels*.

Canterburies
Sermon still
admired by
Malignants

Anlicus his
former trade
of life.

What *Rebels* still? As sure as can be *King Charles* is dead, and yet we never heard of it: I wonder we have not his *Funeral Sermon* in *Print* here, and the young *Prince* sent up to *London*; and how came it to passe, that the *Sexton* never rang the great *Bell* at *Westminster*, that the *Kingdom* might take notice of it, and the *Parliament* put on mourning, and *Britannicus* write an *Epitaph*, or an *Elegie*, and the *City* lie down in *Sack-Cloth*, and *Asbes*? Can the *Cavaliers* be so impudent, as to play the *second part* of *Perkin Warbeck*, and carry one up & down in

The King
dead.

Why his Majesty may be thought dead.

his likeness? Or is it possible, that *his Majesty* should be living, or that we should believe him to be so, when *Aulicus* dares to write thus against the very life and being of his *honour*? To write his *Parliament* (his so late confessed and acknowledged *Parliament*, his *Parliament* with whom he now is *Treating*) under the infamous notion of *Rebels*? Sure as can be (I say again) King *Charles* is dead; at least his *Majesty* is dead, or will be, if he suffer his *Parliament* (the very life, fountain, and Sphere of *Majesty*) to be thus wounded with reproach and infamy.

For he goes on, and tells us, that we are grown perfect by this *Triennial Rebellion*. *Rebells* and *Rebellion* (you see) are his words: and being out of love with the word *Triennial* ever since it was joyned to *Parliament*, he makes use of it the more readily, to expresse his malice, according to the sence of his own party: my Lord *George* and the *Favourites*, and his Uncle (by the *Spanish* Relation) *Cottington*, with the rest of the *Monopolizing Harpies* which cannot endure to hear of a *Triennial Parliament* to curbe them, and un-nestle such *Vipers* every 3. years out of his *Majesties* bosome. Hence it comes to passe the word *Triennial* is so odious to them, that they have sought all wayes and means to null that grand and most excellent *Act* for a *Triennial Parliament*; and with it all the rest which have been passed this present *Parliament*: But because the people of *Great Brittain* are not willing to part with the ancient *Prerogatives* of a free Nation, derived to them from their *Progenitors*, and became so sensible of *usurpation* and *encroachment*, that they were forced to Armes in their own defence; and so have prosecuted it these three years, with great expence of their blood and fortunes, this is the ground of that reason-lesse injurious slander.

He tells us of searching all Nations for the fittest we can get. It is well we search for things fit; they will not be taken in that fault; for they neither search for, nor do any thing that is fit; but their *Acts* render them odious to all Nations: Their designs are so apparent against *Religion* and *Liberty*, that the *Swedes* in that cold Country are all on fire against them; and (no doubt but) other *Protestant* Countries will awaken ere long; yea, and *Holland* it selfe (that *Holland* which sent so much snell hither) may yet learn to be wiser, and never suffer their teeth to be set on edge any more with sowre *Orenges*: For this (& we remember it well) was the first Nation which was searched, and sought to for the lending of supplies towards our ruine: And now at this time her *Majesty* is searching, and feeling the pulse of the Queen of *France*, and searching and groping in the dark Cells of *Monasteries* and *Nunneries* for *French Crowns*, to bring or send them over hither with a benediction to the *Protestant Religion*.

The word Triennial why odious.

Rebellion falsely so called.

Swedes.

Holland.

France.

He

He sayes, we have *Walloons* quartered at great *Marlow* in *Buckinghamshire*. *Walloons*? What are they thinke some: This is one of *Aulicus* his hard words to puzzle the people, and make them beleieve, that we have some terrible strange kind of *Monsters* in our Army. But they are not so surely quartered in *Buckinghamshire*, as their friends the *Priests* and *Jesuites* are (and as their reverend *Metropolitan*, which heretofore so much favoured them, ought to have been) in *London*.

He tells of the *Walloons* casting a womans child into the fire, but that the child was saved by an English *Lieutenant*. Is it possible that *Aulicus* should speak well of an English man? but you shall never heare him do it in any story that is likely to be true, or that any one will beleieve; you may often heare him very high in commendation of the gallant *Irish* mens valour over the *Rebell-Scots* (as he calls them) in *Ireland*; and rejoyce when he heares of any more of those *Cut-throate* villains coming hither; and let them either here or there perpetrate crimes never so lewd or horrid, they are even *slubber'd over*, without mention or punishment: And prethee Reader, take one observation of mine; that there have been almost two hundred thousand *Protestants* massacred by sundry kindes of deaths in *Ireland*, and yet since *Aulicus* took up his shamefull pen, you shall not find one line of his, against that inhumane barbarous generation: But rather than want a slander against the *Parliament*, He is alwayes quicke at *Forgery* and *Invention*, counting them worse than the bloody *Rebels* in *Ireland*: As for *Walloons*, we know of none such in our Army, though theirs (for the most part) be but a *Coagulation* of dregs out of severall Nations.

An Impudent
lie.

A memoriall
observation.

He tells of a native *Turke* made by the good Earle of *Warwicke*, *Captaine* of the ship called the *George Bonaventure*, and how that he hath robbed His Majesty of all his Ships. Observe Reader, with what virulency his malice is charged against that noble Lord; and the reason of it is, because he preserved the *Navie* for the *Kingdome*, which is here called a *robbing* of His Majesty; But to his eternall honour be it spoken, if he had not been thus excellently faithfull, His Majesty had long ere this time undone himself, and our nation bin quite over-run with *Forrainers*, some perhaps worse then *Turkes*; and utterly subjected to *slavery* and *Popish* cruelty.

Earl of War-
wick slander-
red.

He tells of our men taking the lead off *Basing Church*, and firing *Banbury* steeple, and then giving out that the *Garrisons* did it. That's true enough; for before the siege began, the incomparably valiant *Marquis*, that Heroicke *Marquesse* who kennell'd and stanke so many *Monies* in a cellar, in his huge wisdom gave order to have the Church unlead'd, to

Cavaliers
demolishers
of Churches.

make *consecrated bullets*, to shoot away the *Protestant Religion*: And they made a *Bonfire of Banbury steeple*, on purpose to welcome home *His Majesty* out of the *West*.

He tells of counterfeiting the *Great-Seale*, and hiring the *Scots* to the invasion of England. Sirrah, these scandals were stale, and out of fashion above a *twelve-moneth* since; The *Great Seale* keeps *Terme* constantly in *Westminster hall* without *Littleton*, he that was the Kingdoms egregious *Cut-purse*, and thought to have pickt the Parliaments pocket, but he was mistaken, and sneak't away with an empty purse onely to *Oxford*. And Sirrah, give the *Scots* good words, ye had best; look toward the *North*, and thou mayest see them gathering, and driving this way, like *blew clouds*, therefore expect a *storme* ere long at *Oxford*.

In the next place he falls upon Major-Generall *Browne*, and takes it mighty ill that he should deceive the good Lord *Digby*, in not surrendring up the Towne of *Abingdon*. But to excuse this basenes of *Digby* as much as he can, he would faine perswade the world to beleeve, that *Browne* was the first man that motioned the busines, the story being coyned thus; how that *Browne* having long and industriously sought by the meanes of one *Master Bernard*, a *Minister* and *Kinsman* of his, to be understood a convert from his former rebellious opinions, and that he would give testimony of it by surrendring of *Abingdon* to *His Majesty*, was at length so far harkened to, as to receive from the Lord *Digby* assurances of those advantages which he had first intimated to be principally aimed at by him. But (sayes he) the Lord *Digby* finding delays in the performance, at length thought fit to presse him to an up-shot, and in retorne received this Answer. Which to the honour of the faithfull, and prudent *Major-Generall*, I here set down.

MY LORD,

YOur just diffidence hath broke the shell, and hatcht now at length my just defiance, and your design (which with much adoe I have perswaded to the uppermost Round) is now fit to be turned off. Is it possible that your Lordship (my Lord *Digby*) should think his oyl so artificially mixt with his Inke, as not to betray its flattery? Or that it could catch like Bird-lime? Alas, my Lord, by perswading your self this, you declare to the world, that it was Honour and Courtship that was the prevailing Argument to fetch your Lordship out of that honourable house where you once late, but shall never lure a meaner man out of *Abingdon*. My Lord, let this Letter be the cypher to my former; reade them over again, and see whether they do not all breathe both in word and sence, Loyalty to his Majesty, and yet full resolution to go through with what I have undertaken. And for the designe which I mention so much, I thank yours which first gave life to it: It is perfected (my Lord) it is perfected, and you may come when you will. The designe was to play with you at your own game, till our works (which once were not so strong, as you have now made them, though at the weakest should have been lined with our lives) were strengthened and accommodated with men and provisions, which

Littleton.

Scots.

A fiction.

Major
Brownes letter
to the
Lord Digby.

Two more
such designs
will shame
him utterly.

which (I thank God) now they are, and therefore I do acquire your Lordship of all misfortunes that may befall me. Oh my Lord! Be more tender of his Majesties honours and favours, than thus to hang them out as colours to invite treachery and disloyalty to come after them. I beseech God, I have in this whole action been careful, to avoid tampering with his Majesty in things of this nature. And for that often practised plot of yours, and that *feigned kinman* of mine, to sow jealousies between those who employ me and my actions (which shall dare to look the world in the face) leave it my Lord, leave it, 'tis thred-bare, and rotten. And in confidence, that I have now written what your Lordship looks for, in which if you have not full satisfaction; but shall scruple at any thing, if your Lordship shall please to send once more, I do assure your Honour, your messenger shall come and return safe; for who knows but that your Lordship (in whom there is so much ingenuity) may not only now read me right in my intentions, but also hereafter give me thanks for my reality. I am

A good kinman.

Abingdon the 19.

Decemb. 1644.

Post script.

My Lord, Your honours most humble servant, Richard Browne.

My Lord; you have hanged a Spie (as you say) of mine, whom I know not, but you may like for like. be ballanced in this also, this very morning I will cause to be hanged one of yours condemned by our Councell of War six weeks since, according to an Ordinance of Parliamēt, resolving never to be out-loue by you, either in Civility or justice.

To this gallant Letter was returned this Reply following :

Sir,

I Shall make use of the Liberty which you allow me to send to you once more. I professe I am very sorry to finde my wishes and my hopes of your returning to your Duty and Loyalty in so usefull a manner to the publike as you might have done, deceived: but my confidence I assure you, you have not abused, for I seldome ground that but upon great probability of their integrities with whom I deale, a foundation which I could not well look for, from a person that had already forsied his Allegiance; and you must excuse me from believing that what you have done now proceeds from any firmenes to your own principles, in that which you your self shinke honest (how erroneously soever) but rather from some new and greater corruption of interest on that side, then what was proposed to you on this, whereof I make no doubt but the World will be a right judge, when by the publishing what hath passed between us, it shall appear how industriously, and how mercenarily, you long courted your own corruption, before I ever provoked you to it, and offered unto you those rewards which I did, as to a prostituted, not to a sollicitied person, who henceforwards must necessarily be infamous of all sides, on this, both for Treason and Treachery, on the other, for having with such solemn renuntiatiōs of what you now seem to think honest, so long acted a part wherein to no man can be tempted without infamy, so far as you went uninvited, unless upon a sincere alteration of judgement, which no provocations can make me so uncharitable, as not to wish still most heartily, to you and all your party, and then I shall again subscribe my selfe

Why then did you tamper.

Vbraiding.

A fine come off.

Your friend to serve you, George Digby.

Alas poor George! What out-witted at last by a Citizen; was ever any Statist o're-witted thus at Politickes? If he be served on this manner, but once or twice more, his Lordship may chance to keep his Inke and Oratory, for his day of Solemnity at Tower-hill, and not spend it so prodigally upon our Garrisons, as formerly. I wonder he never ventured yet to write a Letter to Britanicus, & tamper with him for some pre-ferment to stop his mouth from telling truth unto the people, but I must tell him before-hand, that I look high; I shall wince and spurne at a Knighthood, since Dicke Grimes, and Jack Straw, and John a Stiles, and the rest of them were Knighted for Murder Courtier.

Murder and Plunder: And besides, I shall never accept of any *Court-Office*, because my desire is to go to heaven, and I am afraid that *White-Hall* is out of the Road.

A new Military word.

He tells of a great victory of *Sir Will. Vaughan*, by knocking *Sir John Price* Governor of *Montgomery Castle*, raling his men *Prisoners*, and 22. *cas. of faire new Pistols*. That was a *glozing* business indeed, you see what shift they are put to for want of *Armes*, that *knocking* is become a Military word instead of *Charging*; a most manly expression, and which truly becomes the valour of their *Cubmen*! And was there ever such a fight I en better in *Sir Vaughan's Castle*? No like than 22. *cas. of faire new-Pistols*? The words had need to be drawn out at length like a *Welsh Pedegree*; for those *Pistols* are enough to make them all *Gentlemen*.

Jacob Astley Lorded.

He tells of *Sir John Price* his barbarousness in *turning houses*. This Intelligence was written over right, & yet the very next morning he tells us it was put in *practice* by the Lord Astley upon *Lipgate house* belonging to Mr. Stephens, one of the *Committee of Gloucester*. More Lords yet? *Duke*, and *Harry*, and *Hastings*, and now *Jacob Lorded* too? This *Jacob* is the very picture of *Elom*, for his face shines always, as if it were all be-slubber'd with *Red Potage*; and the old *Chol-rake Scigniore* looks as *flush*, as if he were able to *forticate*, and *fortifie* these thirty years longer; and now he is *practising* at *Cyreneester*.

Coll. Massey.

He tells of *Coll. Massys* losing a thousand men, that is too many by two *Cyphers*. And of his *affliction*, *tortment*, *miseries* and *Ship wrack*; and all these words to bring their *miserable party* into a *miserable* opinion of him, whose undaunted valour in maintaining *Gloucester*, made their departure the more *miserable*, to be afterward so *miserably* beaten at the battell of *Newberie*; and since that in great *miserie* to run *Westward*, to make that *Country* as *miserable* as they made the *North*; and after all to return again to a second *Miserable* beating at *Newberie*: So *miserable* hath that gallant *Colonels* holding out of *Gloucester* made them.

Sir John Winter.

He tells of the Acts of the Gallant Gentleman *Sir John Winter* against *Colonell Massey*. This is that *Winter* which was put into such a *shivering* last summer, that for an escape out of his new *fortification*, he was glad to venture a *Break-neck*: And if you would have the reason why he is so much commended by *Aulius*, you must know that he is a most notorious *Arab-Papist*; and his *congeal'd* Conscience falls into *Aguish fits*, at the very mention of the *Protestant* Religion, yet passes also for a defender of the *Faith*, &c.

Marmaduke Langdale.

More persecuting pittifull expressions he hath in Commiseration of *Colonell Massey*; but I leave him, and cannot but wonder at *Sir Marmaduke Langdale's* being in *Wild-fire*; for there *Aulius* tells us, he had an *Alarm* in his *Quarters*. Alas poor *Marmaduke*! He was so terribly frightened in the *North*, where he got such a *Trembling* in the flesh, that the *Alarm* will never out of his *Quarters* while he lives; Besides, they say the *Meager* *Heathen* is so extremely wasted in the *Quarters*, that a *T-suite* would scarce to own such upon the *City gates* the orely enl which *Marmaduke* deserves for his *Northern* service; But if ever he be brought to *London*, I feare the *Barber-Surgeons* will beg him for a *Skeleton*.

Lies concerning Scotland.

This *Peacocks* (for farewell) flourishes with two faire *feathers* in his *Tale*, of two most *Signal Victories* (as he calls them) obtain'd by the *Marquess of Montrose* in *Scotland*. Did you ever thinke *Aulius* could possibly fetch any more comfortable story out of *Scotland*? But he sayes, the *News* is in *Print*, and as certaine, as that the two *Hothams* are executed, whereof he promises more the next weeke: Then you may expect to heare of some excellent contrived peeces of *Rogery*.

Intelligence.

I shall begin with Sir Peter Killegrew's returne from Oxford, on Wednesday last January 22. with His Majesties Answer concerning the Treaty, which was sealed up in a letter of Ruperts to the Lord Generall: The contents of the Conduct run to this effect;

These are to Will and require all Generalls, Major-Generalls, Commanders of Townes and Garrisons, Colonels, Captaines of Companies, and all other Officers whatsoever, that they freely give leave to Algernon Earle of Northumberland, &c. (Here because I gave you the Names of our Commissioners the last weeke, I now leave them out.) With their Attendants not exceeding the number of 108. with their Horses, Carriages, and other necessaries, to passe between London and Uxbridge, when and so often as they shall thinke fit, during the time of the Treaty, without any Let or Molestation whatsoever, and hereof you are not to faile, as you will answer the same at your perill.

His Majesties
grant of Con-
duct.

Given at Oxford the 21. of January. 1645.

The same day also Ruperts Letter was read at a Conference of both Houses, desiring that a safe Conduct might be granted from the Parliament, for the Duke of Lenox and Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earle of Southampton, the Earle of Kingstone, the Earle of Chester, the Lord Seymer, the Lord Hutton, and the Lord Culpeper (these three last, Lords of the latter Edition) and the L. Capell: Of Commons, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Edward Nicholas Secretary and Knight of the Post, Sir Ned Hile, and Sir Richard Lane all Knights of the latter Edition: Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Jeffrey Palmer: Divines also (such as Court-Chaplains are) must come along with them; as Dr. Stewart, Dr. Shelton (both of All-Soules, that Colledge over whose gates Purgatory is so artificially carved and gilded) and Dr. Lang, with their Attendants. The time desired for their meeting at Uxbridge on Wednesday next January 29.

Ruperts Letter.
The names of
His Majesties
Commissioners.

Subscribed Rupert.

Next were read certain reasonable Propositions from his Majesty to the Parliament: And because the prattence of them does in a manner, speak before hand what is the probable intent, and what will be the miserable event of this Treaty, I must needs set them down, that the eyes of the Kingdom may be opened, and behold in these Propositions (as in a Glasse) what their resolutions still are at Oxford.

1. That his Majestie Revenues, Ships, Forts, and Ammunition, detained from him, may be restored to him againe: And that he may be seiled in his just power over his Subjects.
2. That all unipied illegal Acts done against His Majesties consent, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, may be forthwith repealed.
3. That all His Majesties Subjects committed to prison by the Parliament, may be forthwith released, and illegal imprisonments revoked.
4. That Poperie may be suppressed, as shall be agreed on; an Act may be framed, for the setting of the good Book of Common Prayer, and defending it from all scornings, and uncharitable carriage towards it.
5. That there be an Act framed to indulgetender consciences.
6. To the end, that Religion may be the better settled and established, that a Nationall Synod may be called.

Rare Propositions.

7. That such as shall be excepted out of the generall pardon, on both sides, may be tried, per pares, and by them to be acquitted, or condemned.

8. That to speed the Treatie, a Cessation of Armes may be, and a free Trade allowed.

No acknow-
ledgement of
new Honours.

After the reading, these Papers were referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms, who concluded that the Commissioners shall meete at *Voxbridge* on *Thursday* next: But theirs at *Oxford* must leave their new Titles behind them: for the *Houſes* will not entertaine *Nel Hide* and *Nicholas* the *lyar*, and the rest which have gotten new Honours since *Littleton* ran away, upon such termes: And on *Saturday* Sir *Peter Killigrew* posted to signifie so much unto them, and also to carry them a safe Conduct upon the same condition. It were a fine Jest now if the Treaty should be broken off, because *Nel Hide* shall not be called *Sir Edward*: and it is twenty to one but he will pull His Majesty by the *bandstrings* (for familiarities sake) to perswade him.

A notable
exploit.

A notable exploit performed by Lieutenant Colonel *Fower*, and Major *Brooke*, against them of *Chester*, who coming to the reliefe of *Bewston* Castle (now besieged by Sir *William Brereton*) were immediately routed, 50. slaine in the place, two Colonels, and divers Officers taken; 100. Horse, and 100. Men prisoners, with Armes and Ammunition.

Col. Massey.

Neare *Camden* we heare Colonell *Massey* hath slaine divers, took 11. Captaines, and 60. Souldiers, It is said also *Ruperts* own *Corones* taken prisoner.

Colonel *Cromwells* Regiment, and two of the Earle of *Manchester*s Troops, are designed to march into *Sussex*.

The Army.

The businesse of the Army is settled by the *Commons*, it being to consist of 21000. horse and foot, in 21 Regiments. Valiant Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is Voted Commander in Chiefe in the South: and Major *Skippon* to be Major Generall of the foot: The Colonels are *Holborne*, *Middleton*, *Sheffield*, *Sidney*, *Graves*, *Abridge*, *Montague*, *Fleetwood*, *Vermuden*, *Whaley*, *Riib*, *Croford*, *Barclay*, *Ingleby*, *Rossier*, *Forrescue*, *Pickering*, *Ayliffe*, *Welden*, &c. and more perhaps, but these are enough to make a gallant list.

A Superstitious
Funerall.

But let us raise Armies and fight as long as we will; yet I perceive we shall never be able to banish Superstition and Common prayer out of *London*. For on *Thursday* night about nine of the clocke, a Funerall was solemnized in *Faiths* under *Pauls*, for one *Web*, of the right reverend religious profession of a *Proctor*, dying, it is supposed, for griefe: that the Prelacy, and Poperie must be banish't out of *England*, the Corps being attended with the Generalitie of *Doctors*, *Froffers*, and *Civilians*. The whole Masse of Common prayer was read very formally over the Grave, by *Rowland Tennyngs*, one of *Canterburies* blessing *Cabbes* belonging to the *Cathedrall*, whose prime Divinitie consists altogether in *Minims*, and *Quavers*, and *Crotchets*; and yet his braines were never guilty of so much as one *Crotchet* of Divinitie. There (it is said) they had *Antiphones* and *Responses*, and I know not how many *Papish-Ceremonies*: Some Magistrates or other might have done well to have had the Coffin, search't for *Crucifixes*, and *Wax Candles*, the consecrated girdle with a *Pouch* at it to pay *Peter* his *Pennie*; and coyne to see *Beelzebub* for a quickie dispatch at *Purgatorie*: Such things as these might have been found there, I warrant you: And I hope they will hereafter be look't unto.

Doubt.

Whether we have not great reason to be jealous of this Treaty?

Satisfaction.

Those high Propositions throwne in the very nick, give us cause enough. Therefore let us be vigilant: And this let His Majesty know, if this Treaty be frustrated, all the world will cry out shame, that he should be so regardlesse of his peoples blood: And how will it sound hereafter in a Chronicle, that Charles the first, King of *England*, continued so many yeares in Armes against the Parliament of *England*!

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information,

From Tuesday the 21. of January, to Tuesday the 28. of January. 1644.

Tuesday the 21. of January.

THe house of Commons: being sensible of the advances, and busineses of the enemy, even in this season of Winter, and how they dare us in *Hampshire*, and in *Sussex*; and likewise how necessary it is to preserve our Garrisons, and give life, and increase to Major General *Holborne*, and to have all ready at Spring betimes. Made this day a farther proceeding in the Ordinance for the Army of 21000. that was to be raised, and maintained by the Southern Counties, and the Committee bringing in a List of the Colonels.

The House proceeded, and named first Colonell Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, who so bravely behaved himselfe in the North for many months together, and undoubtedly had scattered *Newcastles* power, had he not had trecherous competitors: This worthy Champion upon the motion of a worthy Member, was voted Commander in chief of that Army, and to be directed by none but the Lords, Commons, and Committee of both Kingdoms: Major

X x x x

Generall

Generall Skippon so to his Excellency my Lord Generall : was first of the foot, and a Major Generall of the Army, a Gentleman of known fidelity, valour, and discretion both beyond Seas, and in this late war : There was of the horse Colonels, Coll. *Middleton*, who so bravely behaved himselfe in his last Summers action, from the beginning to the end : Sir *Miles Lindsey*, and Coll. *Roffiter*, two valiant and brave men : Coll. *Sidney*, who lost so much blood, and ventured so far at *Marston Moore*, Coll. *Whalley*, late Lieut. Colonell to Lieut. Generall *Cromwell*, Coll. *Vermuden*, and Coll. *Rich*, who jointly engaged, and did great service at *Marston Moore* : Coll. *Fleetwood*, who fought so bravely at *Newbury* battell : Coll. *Graves* who in severall encounters hath shewed brave resolution, and Coll. *Sheffield*, who fought so bravely and lost so much blood when Coll. *Hambden* got his death wound : For the foot Colonels, we might tell you of Coll. *Holbornes* brave actions at this time, and former : of Coll. *Barkley* when *Redding* was to have been relieved ; of Coll. *Montague*, and Coll. *Pickering* ; and Coll. *Crafsords* valour at *Marston Moore*, *Lincolne*, and other places, and so we might go on, and tell you of Coll. *Ailiffe*, Coll. *Wedlen*, Coll. *Engleby*, Coll. *Alridge*, and the rest.

This day we got knowledge of the valourous carriage of a few of our men in *Christ-Church*, and of Major Gen. *Halbornes* neer *Taunton*, our little bodies seldome do but well, they are of one minde ; how soon should we end the troubles of *England*, did we but harmonize in the great also, and lay aside self-ends, grudges, and discontents.

The Commons this day made an order that a Committee should consider of a way of addition of honour for my L. Generall, which might be of eternall memory, which for present they shall willingly do : he having so exceedingly merited in this present War ; it was also intimated for Sir *William Balfors*, and ordered also, that Coll. *Lambert* should forth with go to the North to manage that affaire, in regard Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was to come this way, a Letter was ordered to be sent to Major Generall *Skippon* to come up immediately.

Wednesday the 22. of January.

Sir *Peter Killigrew* came from *Oxford*, and brought us a faire and complying Answer from his Majesty, no one thing differing, or to be excepted against, as to the forme of the Treaty, he grants the place at *York*, the time speedy the 30. of January : consents to the Convey, names the men to Treat, enables them with power, or any ten of them to conclude, and gives Propositions so faire, as that he demands nothing but

due what hath been, and we hope will conduce to the satisfaction of that which his great Council, the high Court of Parliament shall advise him unto: but that this business may more clearly appear to the Kingdom, whose Intelligencer we profess to be: we shall give you at large some of the speciall pieces sent by his Majesty.

His Majesties Propositions to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster; and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, at London: for the settling a safe and well-grounded Peace.

That His Majesties Revenues, Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, that have been taken or kept from him, may be restored.

That whatsoever hath been done or published contrary to the known Lawes of the Land, or derogatory to his Majesties legall and known Rights, be renounced and recalled, that no seed may remain of the like, to spring out for the future.

That whatsoever illegall power hath been claimed or exercised over his Majesties Subjects; as imprisoning, and putting to death their persons without Law, stopping Habeas Corpus, and putting Impositrans upon their estates, (without Act of Parliament) either by one or both Houses, or by any Committee of both or either Houses, be disclaimed, and the persons committed be forthwith discharged.

That his Majesty will consent to make a Law to establish and to maintain the Protestant Religion: and for the firmer establishing thereof, desires there may be a Bill drawn up for the Continuance of the Booke of Common Prayer, and to maintain it from all scorne and violence.

That there be a Bill also for the ease of tender Consciencs; in such particulars as shall be agreed upon: and that (as to the best expedient thereunto) there be a Nationall Synod called legally, with all convenient speed.

That all persons which shall be excepted, and agreed upon on either side to be excepted out of the Generall Pardon, be tried per Pares, according to the usuall custome, and known Lawes of the Land, to be either acquitted, or condemned.

And to the intent that Trade may not suffer, nor any interruption to the Treaty; and that there may be a Cessation of Armes, and a free Trade with all possible speed concluded on.

The Commons read what was transmitted from the Lords sent by his Majesty.

This day the Commons sate as a grand Committee to proceed in the Ordinance, as they had done the day before, and inserted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* name in the Ordinance, with the title of Captain Generall of that Army, and Major Generall *Skippon* Major Generall of the same.

This day upon complaint that *Coll. Welden* of *Kent* had disperse by writing that Sir *Miles Lucie* was a Coward, he was committed to custody, we know the *Oxford* party making our division the chief cord, on which hangs their hopes of an overcoming us, and this cannot but be the great bell rope, this division may distract *Kent*: Alas poor men! they will see that our discords, will be but as in musicke, make the melody the better, and the harmony the sweeter; and they will tell us also we enrage Forraigne Princes, but that we may not be thought to be carelesse of our affairs, as to Forraigne States: We had Lords and Commons appointed to go the States Ambassadors with the Parliaments Answer, and on *Wednesday* to go to the States Ambassador, *either ordinary, extraordinary, or both*, to demand reparation to the English subjects that have suffered from the Dutch.

Thursday the 23. of January.

The House of Commons took into consideration the Church Government; passed severall Votes, that severall Congregations may be under one Classis, and severall Classies in one Province. And that you may see the clearer what the affaires of the Church is like to come unto, we will give you some of the Votes at large.

That

THat the ordinary way of dividing Christians, into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by their respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Ministers and other Church officers, in each particular Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

That the Ordinances in a particular congregation, Are Prayer, Thanksgiving, and singing of Psalmes, the Word read, (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read) the Word expounded and applied, Catechizing, the Sacraments administered, Collections made for the poore, Dismissing of the people with a blessing.

That Sinodical Assemblies, shall consist both of Provisionall and Nationall Assemblies.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classicall, and Sinodical Assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

There is one or two things which we will make bould to say a litle of, it is, that the present government to be established, is not to passe as *Jure Divino*, and it is well *Jure Divino* are unalterable and unquestionable we see. But in part Bishops had they been *Jure Divino* had been unalterable, and so might have undone England, and caused it drop by degrees in Popery and Tyranny, with many more miseries; but to our comfort they are going, lets try another, if they prove as bad (for men are mortall) we may alter, *pro re nata*.

The other is, that nothing shall be authentick agreed by the Divines; but what is ratified by the three Estates (accord they) and appeals shall lie as by law formerly: (though his Grace, the Oxford, and Rome Saine, would not indure subjection to the Civil Magistrate, lets beware; a new Lord Keeper or Judge, when he puts on his robes first, and is attended with the Lords, Gentlemen of Innes of Court to Westminster, lookes prouder, and seemes to take more upon him, then all the Judges his Senyors.

This day there was a motion made by the Lords, that the fast might be Tuesday, to pray for good successe in the Treaty, and that there might be no stop, no not for an hower to hinder the so much desired accord. But the Commons seemed not willing, and conceived that a day would breake no square, and besides, they may in case of emergency go in the afternoone, it being but three howers riding.

The Committee of both Kingdomes, by the desire of the Lords at the same time, were to consider, and report concerning the papers brought by Sir Peter Killegrew, and the instructions.

The Ministers in *Suffolke* this day Petitioned against Sects, and Schismes, and to settle the Church: The Commons gave thanks for the same, as indeed it merited, for the rule is, be all of one mind, and to be otherwise is amisse, but all the difficulty is, which way these Sects shall be suppressed, and whether all, and indeed this is the great work, which God direct the Parliament, and Assembly in: The Lords did this day seeme to order some things of the proceedings at the Kings Bench, against *Chaucer*, which the Commons imparting unto them, his tryall was to go on: The clearnesse of his offence, and notoriousnesse of it much alters the case.

Fryday the 24. of January.

The Commons received a Petition from *Suffex*, of Plundering, free quarter, and rapes, and by our Soldiers; its time to look about us, and think of reformation in marshall busines: The like Petition from *Buckingham* and *Bidford*, and more, seizing all horse, and in markets, and redeeming them for ten shillings, and twenty shillings a horse: a Committee is appoynted to consider and redresse these abuses, and it is time, for how can it be expected that the new army should be paid, and that constantly, and these grievances lie upon the subject.

This day there came newes from Sir *William Brereton*, which tells, that he being before *Biston* Castle, and understanding that the enemy was coming out of *Chester* with about 1200. horse and foot, which he understood, sent his Lieutenant Colonel *Jones*, who bore them back to the gates of *Chester*, killed 400. took 2100. prisoners, and 3000. horse, two Colonels, Colonel *Kene*, and Colonel *Winden*, and ten Officers more: he gives great hopes of good success at *Chester* also. This is a seasonable and brave victory.

This day a great debate, and severall conferences were about the persons of His Majesties part that were to treat, who had during this war received additionall honour, and at last it was resolved that *Chichester* should be un-Earled, *Culpepper*, and *Hutton* un-Eorded, and *Hild* not-Knighted, and that if these persons must Treat, that they Treat as in former state, for the House of Commons, with content of the Lords have ordained that all honour conferred in these kinds during the difference be null.

This day the instructions came in for the manner of treating, and thus

it was propounded, that the businesse of Religion be accorded in ten dayes, delays are dangerous, and that one of themselves come from time to time to acquaint the house of their dayly proceedings, or send: That they Treat by giving papers in writing: that so no differences grow.

This day it was certified that Walloones, come from His Majesties army to ours, and inroll themselves to us, then plunder, and do all manner of cruelty, and returne again to the Royall party.

This day *Macqueres* busines of Peeres was debated, Master *Pryn* argued excellent well, and largely for his being tried here, and gave full testimony of his reading in all kinds: Master *Twisden*, who was for the defendant, spake excellent well for the defendant.

An *East-Indy* ship we here is gone to *Bristoll*, instead of going her Voyage, 13000*l.* in money, besides other things, and 28. peeces of Ordinance: It were good to make search, it may be there may be found some in this plot that we may have as much from as that comes unto; who was most solicitous to prefer that Captaine, or Master? The plot was laid here, and fitted himself with men for the purpose; Call a Court and inquire.

The unworthy and cruell act of that same Saylor that betrayed the East Indie ship, appears every day more odious then other, for as we are informed, he left three and twenty men in the place, where he put in with any provisions: when men become treacherous, they have no limits in their cruelties; the worst of the 23. in the opinion of those that knew them, had more honesty, and true English blood in them, then all whom he had with him.

Saturday the 25. of January.

THE house of Commons being turned into a grand Committee, continued Poundage and Tonnage, from the 25. of *March*, at which time the Ordinance ends, for two years to come.

The City Petitioned in behalfe of the poor Town of *Plimouth*, and offered some way, the better to support that place, until our Armies can get to raise the Siege.

The afternoon of this day was spent to finish the Ordinance for the new Army, which was but needfull; as you will perceive the next weeke.

Sir *Peter Killegrew* went this night for *Oxford*, about the busines of the new Lords, which the Houses and Scotch Commissioners do all concur

ourin, and for the Knights, they are willing to passe it by for present, because that honour hath no influence upon the publike, and they would not have a particular, Interrupt a generall good.

We hear that *Greenvill* the Commander in *Devonshire*, hath pistoled two *Champernoones*; as we believe, the sons of *Sir Henry Champernoone*, here is *Marshall Law*, or bloody Law, or *Oxford Law*, or *Romane Law*, sure its neither Common Law, nor Statute Law.

Monday the 27. of January.

THe house of Commons sent up to the Lords, severall concerning the Church, the last above mentioned was one, in which the Lords did agree.

The Commons this day had a report made to the house, of all the amendments to the Ordinance, for the new modell of our Army; and voted the tittle to the Ordinance: viz,

An Ordinance for the raising and maintayning of Forces under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

This was about to be sent to the Lords between a eleven and twelve a clocke, but they were risen before the Ordinance came up.

The instructions for the Parliaments Commissioners were this day agreed unto by the Commons; It is not fit to make them publique: yet this, the three first Propositions, Religion, Militia, and Ireland, are to be treated on in nine dayes, beginning with Religion.

This evening *Sir Peter Killebrew* returned from *Oxford*, and brings word, that his Majesty is willing to have his Commissioners treat under any capacity: so desirous is he that that businesse be advanced.

We should here tell you of somewhat we have taken, not much inferiour to the betrayed East-India ship: But we principally intend in this the proceeding of the Houses: and besides, its but newly come; and therefore we forbear.



London Printed for R. W. 1645.

AN ⁸
EXTRACT

of the Acts of the
Nationall Synod
OF THE
REFORMED CHURCHES
OF
FRANCE.

Assembled by the Kings permission at
CHARATOUN, Anno 1644. 26. Decem.
and dayes following ; Touching

INDEPENDENCY.

Sent from Paris the $\frac{17}{27}$ of Ian. 164 $\frac{1}{4}$.
TO DAVID BUCHANAN.

Published by Authority.

Printed at London for John Field. Jan. 28. 1644.

EXTRA



*Extraict des Actes du Synode National
des Eglises Reformeës de France as-
semblé par permission du Roy a Cha-
ranton l'an 1644, le 26 Decembre
& iours suivans Envoye de Paris $\frac{17}{27}$
Janvier 164 $\frac{5}{4}$. a D. B.*



VR ce qui a esté rapporté par
quelques Deputéz des Provin-
ces Maritimes que plusieurs
venans de pays estrange & qui
s'appellent Independans, parce
qu'ils enseignent que chaque Eglise Parti-
culiere se doibt gouverner par ses Propres
Loix sans aucune Dependance de personne
es Matieres Ecclesiastiques, & sans obli-
gation a recognoistre l'autorité des Col-
loques & Synodes pour son regime &
conduicte establisent leur demeure en ce
Royaume, & y pourroyent cy apres causer
de grands inconveniens, s'il n'y estoit de
bonne heure pourveu. La Compagnie
craignant que la contagion de ce venin

gaignant Insensiblement ne iette la confusion & le desordre entre nous : & iugeant la dicte Secte des Independans non seulement prejudiciable a l'Eglise de Dieu, entant qu'elle tache d'y introduire la confusion, ouvrant la porte a toutes sortes de singularités & extravagances, & ostant tout moyens d'y apporter remede, mais aussy tres dangereuse a l'estat, ou (si elle avoit lieu) il se pourroit former autant de Religions qu'il y a de Paroisses ou Assemblées Particulieres: enjoint a toutes les Provinces & spécialement aux Maritimes de prendre garde que le mal ne prenne pied es Eglises de ce Royaume, afin que la paix & l'uniformité tant en la Religion qu'en la Discipline y soyen inviolablement entretenues & que rien ne s'introduise parmy nous qui puisse alterer en aucune maniere le service qui est deû a leur Majestez.

Garrissolle Modérateur.


Basnage Adjoint.

Blondel Secretaire.

Le Coq. Secretaire.

An

An Extract of the Acts of the Nationall Synod of the Reformed Churches of *France*, assembled by the Kings permission at *Charantoun*, Anno 1644. 26. Decemb. and dayes following.

 Pon what hath been reported by the Commissioners of the Maritime Provinces, that divers coming from foraign countries, and who go under the name of *Independents*, because they teach that every particular Congregation ought to be governed by its own particular Laws, without any depending of any in Ecclesiastical matters, and without any obligation to acknowledge the Authority of *Colloques*, or *Classes* and *Synods*, for its government and conduct, settling their abode in this Kingdom, and here-

hereafter they might cause here amongst us many great inconveniences, if in due time there were not order taken, the Assembly fearing least the contagion of this poyson gaining ground insensibly, should throw trouble and disorder amongst us; and judging the said Sect of *Independants* to bee not onely prejudiciall to the Church of God, in so far, that it endeavours to bring in *Confusion*, opening a Gate to all kinde of Singularities and Extravagancies, and taking away all means of any remedy to the evil, but also most dangerous to the State, where (if it had place) there might as many Religions set up, as there be Parishes or particular Congregations, doth enjoin to all the Provinces, and particularly to the
 Mari-

(7)

Maritimes, to take heed that the evil
take no foot in the Churches of this
Kingdom, to the end that peace and
Uniformity aswell in Religion as in
Discipline, may be inviolably pre-
served, and that nothing be brought
in amongst us which may alter in any
kinde the service due unto their Ma-
jesties.

Garrissole Moderator.
Basnage Adjoynt.
Blondel Secretary.
Le Coq. Secretary.

F f N f S.

sometimes to take part in the
 take no foot in the
 Kingdom, to the
 University of
 Dismissed, may be
 served, and that not in
 in amongst the
 kinds the service of
 selves.



Charles A. Johnson
 Palace Adjutant
 Colonel Secretary.
 Le Cod. Secretary.

F 7 N 2.



Perfect Passages

O F

Each Dayes Proceedings

I N

PARLIAMENT

BRITISH
MUSEUM
1644

From Wednesday, January 22. to Tuesday, January 28. 1645.

Three maine load of Provisions, and divers Prisoners taken between Bristol, and Bridgewater, by Col. Holbornes Forces, with the particulars thereof. How Colonell Masseyes forces took two Waggon, and 12. Oxen, that were going to Sir John Winter, where were 20. slain, 2. Lieutenants, 14. Prisoners, and 40. Armes taken. A Copy of Sir William Breretons Letter, and the List of all the names and particulars of his great victory, neare Chester Jan. 18. How Skellum Greenville hath slain Col. Champernoon, and Capt. Champernoon of his own Officers, and the grounds of that division. How the Northampton forces, rescued 60. head of cattell, and 200. Sheep, kild 18. and took some prisoners from the Banbury Forces near Kilsby.

WEDNESDAY. January 22.



Ut of Gloucestershire it was this day certified by Letters, that a party of Colonell Masseyes Forces being in the Forrest of Dean, met with some carriages going to Sir John Winter, which were upon the way with a convoy, which our men discovering, set upon them, and had a very fierce incounter with them, but in conclusion had the better of it, and took from them two Waggon laden with Syder, which was prepared for Sir John Winters owne palate: they tooke also twelve Oxen which drew the Teames, slew 20. of the Cavaliers, amongst which were two Lieutenants, and some other Officers, tooke 14. prisoners,

JAN. 22, & 23. 1645.

14. prisoners, and 40. armes, which was performed very gallantly: we had some wounded, but few slain, and the souldiers returned very merry, giving God the praise of the victory.

From Lincolnshire it was this day certified by Letters, that the New-arkes (since the return of the Yorkshire horse) have marched out of the town, and done much mischief in the neighbouring villages, not onely plundered the Countrey-people of all that is worth carrying away, that they could light on, but have taken many of them out of their own houses, and carried them away prisoners into Newark, and used them very harshly, especially such as were Gentlemen of worth, that so they might redeem themselves with money, a most horrible cruelty. And yet the enemy use the like in all their quarters, particularly about Winchester; where they send out such cruell Warrants as have not been heard of.

There is a very little Parish, not farre from Winchester, the name of it I do not very well remember, but all the land that was in it (when times were good) was not worth above 400. l. *per annum*, yet this Parish was seized by Col. *Goring*, as he passed by, at 300. l. which they were commanded presently to bring in, without faile; of which that little Parish could not raise any considerable proportion, whereupon one of the chief of the towne was committed, yet a man of small estate, as they all are, and carried to Winchester; since which two of the town have been at Winchester to certifie the Kings party (who are appointed there to gather that contribution) that the town can hardly raise 80. l. and to raise that all must suffer extremely, and could not possibly raise any more; whereupon, because they gave no better satisfaction, the two Countrey-men that came to offer the 80. l. were both committed, and remain prisoners in Winchester with the other man, and a party from thence are sent out to plunder the town.

T U R S D A Y. Jan. 23.

This day we had more newes of the enemies cruell plundering, as particularly that the Kings Banbury Forces were got into Northamptonshire, and had plundered about Kilsby where they were most inhumane, drove away 60. head of cattell, 200. sheep, and plundered the townsmen to their very shirts upon the matter, for they left them nothing

thing that was good: notice whereof being brought to Northampton, there was a partie sent out from thence, which fell upon them, and rescued a good party of the plunder, took some prisoners, and kild 18. of the enemies partie, and indeed the Kilsby-men may thank themselves that they suffer, in that they so foolishly broake their Association, and did so good service for the Cavaliers as some of them have done, as particularly one passage which is very remarkable, which might have been an example to the rest, not to trust the Cavaliers: for the very same day that the Constable of that towne gave them intelligence of an opportune comming in to fall upon Kilsby, that very day, because they did not prosper in their designe; they returned to the Constable, and did there pistoll him and slew him, and thus would they do to, or for any Malignant, and all the Malignants in London, if they were at their mercy. However some are so besotted that they will not be perswaded to it.

This day there came intelligence from the West, that Sir *Ralph Hopton* was gone to Sherborn, and Col. *Windham* and Col. *Hawley* to Bridgewater, by which meanes our forces at Taunton have got more elbow-roome, where Col. *Holborne* is very active, and is still sending out parties if he heares of any of the Kings Forces comming neere him, to prevent them from streitning of his quarters.

For the Propositions, and other papers from the King, I find them so exactly published in other things, that I shall not trouble you with repetition of them, only that this afternoon the Committee of both Kingdomes sate very late about the propounding of the Answer, wherein, that all the world may see how desirous the Parliament are of prace (if it may be had in good earnest) they have made a short dispatch, and the Treaty is to go on, from Thursday next to hold 21. dayes, upon the first part of the Propositions, that is concerning the Church, the *Militia*, and the reducing of Ireland, and according as they conclude in these, so to go on upon all the rest, as shall be further agreed on.

In the meane time we must be very watchfull for feare of treachery, which is plotted against us both by sea, and by land, and indeed we had need to look well about us here in this City, for in some places Malignants are very bold, but by that time that the new Army is settled, (I

hope) such care will be taken herein, as those who dare to appeare in any malignant expressions, or to abuse any of the Parliaments friends, in their way they are in for the Parliament, may suffer (as they justly deserve) for the same.

FRIDAY. Jan. 24.

There came Letters from Sir William Brereton, which certifie of a very gallant and successfull action performed by his Forces neer Chester, as you may see by a Letter of his, whereof here followeth a copie.

SIR,

THese lines may give you this account of this dayes successe, wherein it hath pleased God wonderfully to worke, and to fight for us, to the great amazement of the enemy. This day twelvemonth the Lord was pleased to do great things for us, when this town of Nantwich was fiercely assaulted, and the enemy repulsed with the losse of neere 500. slaine and wounded, and neere 1000. more run away, which was done with very little losse on our part. And this day about two of the clock, the enemy with about 800. foot and 300. horse issued out of Chester, intending to fall upon our quarters at Christleton, within a mile or little more of the City, and had prepared a strong ambuscament, through which our horse charging very resolutely, fell fiercely upon the enemies horse, which were placed in the Reare of their ambuscado, round them, slew many, and took above 200. prisoners; amongst which are two Colonels; one Lieutenant-Colonell, two Serjeant-Majors, and ten other eminent Officers, and took good store of horse and armes, and did great execution upon them, untill their entring into the gate.

The Foot (who were led on, and commanded by Adjutant Louthain) did performe a gallant service, and come on valiantly, beat the enemy from their ambuscadoes; and slew many of them, who being under the protection of their own Cannon, could not be so totally slain and taken as otherwise.

Lieutenant Colonell Jones led on and commanded the Horse, with judgement, and therein the Lords mercy and goodnesse is much magnified, in the preservation of our men: I do not know of any of our Commanders that are slain, only Capt. Blackwell is wanting, and Capt. Zanchie (who is a very valiant man, and commands my own Troupe) being without his armour, wounded in the body, but we hope, not mortall.

That

JAN. 24, & 25. 1645.

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*That we may have a good effect upon Beeston Castle, we shall neglect no in-
deavours to improve time and advantage, so farre as remaines in our pow-
er; and do desire that such a prudent respect may be had to us, as that we may
not be oppressed with fresh supplies of horse from the Kings Army.*

*I have not time to enlarge my selfe, but with my kindest respects to you, con-
clude in hast, and remaine,*

Jan. 18. 1644.

*Your assured friend and servant,
W. Brereton,*

Postscript.

*There were about 500. or 600. of Cheshire Foot, and some few of Sir Tho-
mas Middletons own Regiment of horse, and Sir Wil. Middletons horse,
which (I take it) were not 100. Those Foot which came out of Leverpoole, and
now are under my Lievt. Col. Jones, (some of which served in Ireland) did
performe good service this day.*

A Petition was this day presented to the House of Commons by di-
vers Gentlemen and Free-holders of Bedfordshire, complaining of the
insolencies and outrages of some souldiers of the E. of *Manchesters* Asso-
ciation, desiring redresse from the Parliament. Also another Petition was
delivered from the West of Suffex, complaining of their being almost
ruined by the multitude of the Parliaments souldiers, who take free quar-
ter from them, &c. both which were debated on, and referred to a Com-
mittee, to report the same to the House.

And another Petition was presented from the County of Bucking-
ham, complaining of their great sufferings, which was also referred to
the said Committee.

The House being likewise acquainted with horrible outrages, and
rapes, and other impieties committed by some who put themselves into
the Parliaments service in Suffex, debated thereon, and it was Ordered,
that Col. *Stapely* do send up those souldiers, that the House of Commons
heare such complaints against them, that they may be proceeded with
according to justice.

SATURDAY. Jan. 25.

This day a Petition was presented to the House of Commons by the
Common Counsell-men of the City, certifying to the House, what an
hinderance

hinderance of trade it is to the City of London, by the bringing of Ships from Holland into the Kings Quarters in the West, and that there have some Ships lately been at Dartmouth and Falmouth with goods from Holland, and therefore desire that care may be taken for the securing of Plymouth; and certifying further, that other ships are gone from the Kings Ports out of the West into Holland, &c. which Petition was read, and committed.

There came this day also intelligence, that the *John* of London one of the East-India ships of 900. tun burden in which was 5000. pound in money, worth in all about 12000. l. was betrayed by Capt. *Muckins* the Governour of the Ship, to the King, and brought into Bristol: you see (as I told you before) that here is treachery both by sea, and by land.

There came intelligence out of the West, that Col. *Holborne* having intelligence that provisions were sending between Bristol, and Bridgewater, two Garrisons of the enemies, he drew a partie of horse out of Taunton, and sent them forth, which Forces discovered them betweene the said quarters, and fell upon, and tooke 3. waggon-load of provisions, and all their oxen, and 10. musketers that were upon the Convoy, and carried them to Taunton, which provisions are there very welcome.

This day the House of Commons sate long upon the businesse of the navy.

This day came a List of the chiefe Officers that were taken by Sir *William Brereton*.

Col. *VVereden*, that succeeded *Marrow*, who is an Attorneys sonne in Chester.

Col. *Vane* formerly a Lievtenant-Colonell to Col. *Iepson* against the Rebels in Ireland, but since joyned with them here against the Parliament, Serjeant Major *Grey*, who was formerly a Captaine in Ireland, Lievtenant-Col. *Gough*, one also of them that was formerly a Captain in Ireland, Capt. *Rorey Oneal* a notorious Irish Rebel, Lievtenant-Col. *Leg*, which *Leg* was formerly Governour of Chester, and since made one of the new Governours of Oxford.

In this fight were beaten, wounded, and routed, besides those whose Colonels were taken, these following.

Col. *Legs*,

Col. Legs, the Governours own Troupe.
Sir R. Byrons Regim.
Col. Trevers Regim.

Col. Gibsons Regim.
Co. Manwarings Reg.
Co. Russels Regiment
Captain Smith.

Capt. Morgan.
Capt. Llloyd.
Capt. Renicors.
Capt. Pritchard.

The names of those that were slain or wounded are difficult to give you the particulars of, yet of the whole number were wounded in all about 300. and 400. Armes taken, between 50. and 60. slaine upon the place, one of which was Cornet *Baxter*, who would give none of our men quarter, that is since dead, and buried in Chester.

Slain on our part, two of Sir *W. Brerctons* Troupe, Lievt. Col. *Loves* Cornet slain, and himselfe slightly hurt under the care. *Capt. Zanchy* that commanded Sir *W. Brerctons* own Troupe was thrust through the thigh, and 6. or 7. more of his Troupe hurt. *Capt. Blackwell*, who was by them taken prisoner, is come back upon his Parole, sent by the *L. Byron*, now in Chester. Sir *W. Brercton* hath executed some of the Irish Rebels which were brought prisoners to *Namptwich*, & is upon trial of the rest.

A List of the Prisoners that were taken.

Col. Wereden
Col. Vane
Lievt. Col. Gough
Ser. Major Grey
Ser. Major Deane
Cap. Rori Oneale
Capt. Harrington
Capt. Ware
Cap. Pool of Pool
Capt. Ravenscroft
Capt. Lievt. Marrow Hagg
Lievt. Huintreyes
Lievt. Goulborne
Lievt. Wright
Lievt. Davis
Lievt. Dowdall
Lievt. Balls
Lievt. Castleon

Lievt. Brookes
Lievt. Brian
Lievt. Dearing
Ensigne Musgrave
Enf. Gorse
Enf. George
Enf. Chute
Serjeant Price
Serjeant Moulton
Serjeant Carre
Corporall Jackson

Taken of those that were commanded by Major Manwaring.

Thomas Hawkins
Richard Case
Thomas Ben

Geor. Pemberton
Edward Halton
Charles Meacock
Robert Dawson
Tho. Bradhurst
Daniel Halwood
Edward Bedow
Thomas Griffith
George Cooke
William Smith
Peter Ambrose
Hagh Spaw
George Harpe
Thomas Burh
Randolph Jones
John Fletcher
Wil. Booth
William Johnson
Tho. Roffe

John Welch
William Welch
Marke Bunding
John Dove
Rich. Lawrenson
Rob. Hynne
Thom. Hokinson
Alex. Sweeting
George Bafnet
James Sale
Wil. Hughes
Thomas Taylor
John Brew
Ed. Comberbeth
Taken that was commanded by Colonel Trever.
John Copeley
Taken of those that

JAN. 23, & 27. 1645.

were commanded by Col. Gibson.	by Sir Ro. Byron.	Richard Walton	Taken of those that were commanded by Lievt. Colonel Grosvenor.
Christoph. Smith	Joh. Sumner	Hugh ap Thomas	Thp. Nicolls
William Prince	Wil. Peter	Gowen Wells	Rob. Whittington
Tho. Jones	Rich. Beck	John Eudry	Taken that were commanded by Capt. Lloyd.
Wil. Goding	William Wood	Robert Leveson	Richard Hill
Lawrence Smith	Thomas Bell	Wil. Petre	Nicolas Esfame
Cornelius Tegge	Taken of Colonel	Hugh Whitakers	Peter Johnson
Anthony Tomfson	Wardens Regi- ment.	Richard Francis	John Pemberton
John Walker	Joseph Elcock	Wil. Waterwood	Edward Wargan
Tho. Wadsworth	Gilb. Harrington	W. Eireon	Thomas Williams
James Draper	Robert Venable	George Llloyd	Of Cap. Rees men
Tho. Jenkins	George Riley	Wil. Dukes	Wil. Sike Smith
Hugh Evans	Lewis Alwood	Taken that was commanded by Capt. Smith.	Of C. Prichards m
Alexander Corcall	Thomas Prichard	John Collier	Thomas Rively
John Salter	Wil. Letherland	Taken of those that were commanded by Cap. Morgan.	John Penket
Richard Thurston	Rich. Armstrong	Joh. Butterworth	Of Col. Russells Regiment.
Thomas Gee	Richard Wade	Tho. Prince	Robert Heynes
John Powell	Wil. Smith	Tho. Lynkers	Rice Evars
Wil. Griffith	John Langley	Rob. Profet	Of Leg the Gover- nours own Troup.
Lawr. Robinson	Edw. Wallwood	Philip Oliver	John Tompfson
Henry Evans	John Heyes	John Lenwick	Thomas Darret
George Allot	Robert Oxen	Wil. Greg	John Laphorn
John Trudrough	Richard Calton	Tho. Crank	Richard Olerhead
Benjamin Johnson	Tho. Waringham	Tho. Quarke	
Wil. Beeston	Richard Welch	Rob. Cowdack	
Lewis Dobson	John Garfill	Tho. Hall	
Taken of those that were commanded	Richard Holland		
	Peter Venable		
	Thomas Olerhead		

MUNDAY. Jan. 27.

The businesse of the new moddell of the Army was this day totally finished and carried up to the Lords, but the Lords being risen it is to be presented againe the next day.

This day there came newes, that Skellum Greenvile in Cornwall hath pistolled Col. Champernoone and stab'd the Captaine his brother, for counselling againe the storming of Plymouth, which are Gentlemen of a great family in Devonshire, which hath made a great division in their Army.

Printed for R. Austin. 1645.

AN

10

ORDINANCE

England OF THE
Lords and Commons

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT,

FOR THE

Raising of Moneys for Redemption

OF

Distressed Captives.

Die Martis, 28. Jan. 1644.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament,
That this Ordinance be forthwith printed:

H: Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Printed at London for Laurence Blaiklock. Jan. 30. 1644

AN
ORDINANCE

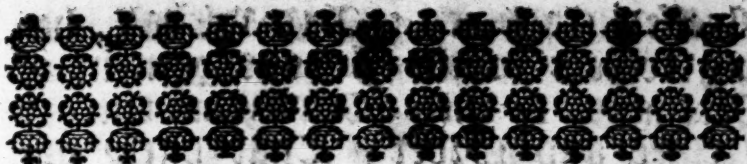
OF THE
Lords and Commons

Assembled in
PARLIAMENT
FOR THE
Raising of Money for Redemption

OF
DISTRESSED DEBTS.

Die Martis, 28. Jan. 1644.
Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament
That this Ordinance be forthwith printed:
H: Elsing, Cler. T. and P. Com.

Printed at London for Iam. Ware Blacklock. Jan. 30. 1644.



Die Martis, 28. Jan. 1644.

Vhereas by an Act made this present Parliament, intituled, An Act for the Relief of the Captives taken by the Turkish, Morish, and other Pyrates: And to prevent the taking of others in time to come, A Subsidy of One per Centum was imposed on all Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, of what nature, kinde, or quality whatsoever to be exported out of, or imported into this Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; which Subsidy or imposition was to continue by the said Act, during the space of three yeers, expiring the tenth of December, 1644. And whereas the Lords and Commons by their Ordinance of the twenty fourth of October, 1644. for the carrying on that so pious a work, the Releasing of the said

distressed Captives: And withall, ha-
 ving respect to the Incouragement of
 Merchants in their Trade, did thereby
 Declare and Order, That onely one
 Fourth part of the Moneys due on the
 severall Bonds taken and due by the said
 Act; That is to say, one Fourth part
 of the One per Cent. which is one Shilling
 in every Twenty shillings paid for Cu-
 stome and Subsidy, according to the now
 Book of Rates established by Authority
 of this present Parliament, should be
 paid by the severall Merchants so in-
 debted, and to continue the payment of
 the said fourth part of one per Cent. as be-
 fore, upon all Goods and Merchandize
 exported and imported unto the expira-
 tion of the said Act.

Now the said Lords and Commons
 finding the said Work will require far
 greater sums of money then could be cal-
 led by vertue of the said former Act and
 Ordinance, during the time therein li-
 mited by the said one fourth part, do Or-
 der and Ordain: That the said Orde-
 nance

nance of the twenty fourth of October, 1644. concerning the Collecting of the said duty and imposition of one fourth part of one per Cent. Which is one shilling in every twenty shillings, paid for Custome and Subsidy, according to the now Book of Rates established by Authority of this present Parliament, upon all Goods and Merchandize exported or imported into this Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Port and Town of Barwick, shall stand and continue in full force and power, from the said Tenth of December, 1644. inclusive, unto the Eleventh of December, 1645. And that the Chamberlain of the City of London for the time being, his Deputy or Deputies, be hereby appointed Collectors, who are hereby enabled to receive all such sums of Money as shall hereafter, during the continuance of this Ordinance, be payable or paid for, and in respect of the said duty, who are heereby required to attend at the severall Custome houses in the

the Port of London, and out-Ports, at the usuall hours, between Nine and Twelve in the morning, to receiue the same, And to take such further course for dispatch of the service, as he or they in their wisdoms shall think fit.

And it is further Ordained, That all such sums of Money as shall be collected and receiued for the said duty aforesaid, shall from time to time be issued, imployed, disposed and payed by the said Chamberlain, for and towards the Redemption of the said distressed Captiues, in such manner as by the Lord Admirall for the time being, and the Committee for the Navy of the Commons House of Parliament, or in the absence of the Lord Admirall, by the Committee of the Navy shall be ordered and directed, whose order from time to time shall bee his sufficient discharge.

And that the said duty may be duly collected and paid according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance,

It

It is Ordained, That no Officer or Officers belonging to any Customehouse in the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Barwick, do passe any Warrant Cocquet, or permit any Goods to passe by any Warrant cocquet, unlesse the same be signed or subscribed by the Chamberlain of London, his Deputy or Deputies.

And for the better encouragement of the said Chamberlain, The Lords and Commons do Ordain, That whatsoever Act or Acts, the said Chamberlain, his Deputy, Deputies, or any one of them, shall do in the Execution of this Ordinance: And whatsoever money they shall receive and Issue out by vertue of the same; They, their Heirs, Executors and Administrators shall be acquitted, discharged, and saved harmless, by the Power and Authority of both Houses of Parliament. Provided, That the said duty be not demanded or leyved of the Merchant-Strangers, Trading upon the Composition Trade at Dover. Provided also, And it is the true

true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, That no Merchant-Stranger whatsoever, as to this duty, do pay any more then the Merchant-Denizen doth; and likewise, that as touching the duty hereby Imposed, there be no Deduction or Defalcation of fifteen pounds per Cent. any thing contained in this Ordinance to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

To: Brown, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

H. Elfyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

F I N I S.

A Diary or an Exact

JOURNALL

Faithfully communicating the most remarkable Proceedings in both

HOUSES OF

PARLIAMENT:

As also delivering the true Intelligence from all the Armies
within His MAJESTIES Dominions.

With many other remarkable passages both by Sea and Land. From Thursday the 23. of January till Thursday the 30. of January. 1645. viz.
The Commissioners for the Parliament came to Vauxbridge, & gave instructions to treat three dayes concerning the Militie: Three dayes concerning Religion, and three dayes concerning the Affaires of Ireland. The brave single Combat betwixt Colnell Blague the Governour of Wallingford Castle and Colonnell Craford. Col. Blague sorely wounded, & his Troops wholly routed, and himselfe hardly escaping to Wallingford with five men. Pontreath summoned, but refusing to submit. Some losse of ours at Farnham, and some men taken Prisoners by the Garrison of Bazing.

Printed for Marston Walbancke, at Gray-Inne Gate.

Thursday January 23.



Here was a motion made by the Lords that the Fast might be on Tuesday, and that the Ministers in their respective Parli-
shes should be carefull to implore the blessing of the Almighty to defend upon the Treaty now in hand, but the Com-
mons did a sheare to their first order and would not have the
day of humiliation altered, but that it should be observed on

Wednesday as heretofore.

The Commons did take into their consideration the Church Government and
passed severall votes, that severall Congregations may be in obedience to one
Classis, and that severall Classies may be in one Shire. It was voted also, that the

Ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for their edification is by the respective bounds of their habitations.

That the Ministers, Elders, Deacons, and other Officers of the Church shall joyne in the Government of it in their particular parishes to the Parliament and Assembly of the Divines shall assemble. That the Ordinance in particular Congregations shall be prayer, and singing of Psalmes, the Word read, the Word expounded and applyed which is preaching, Catechizing, the two Sacraments administred, Collections made for the poore, and dismissing the people with a blessing. That Synodicall Assemblies shall consist of provincia l and nationall Assemblies, and that the Church shall be governed by Synodizall and Clascall Assemblies in such manner as the Parliament shall establish.

There was a Petition presented by the Ministers of Suffolke for the establishment of Church Government and that Sects and Schismes might be suppressed, which the Commons gave them thanks for.

The field newes.
This day we received Intelligence that Sir *Ralph Hopton* was gone to *Sherborne*, and Colonell *Wintham*, and Colonell *Hawley* to *Bridgewater*, by which means our Forces at *Taunton Deane* have enlarged their quarters. Colonell *Holborne* goeth on with great successe, and hath gained so much ground that he keepes his quarters about *Ham*, we understand that Colonell *Blake* is in a good condition in the Castle of *Taunton*, and seates not the access of any Enemy, we heare that Colonell *Goringe* continues about *Salisbury*.

There was Intelligence also of a ship that was comming from the *Barbades* that was chased many dayes by Capitaine *Pinnington* ships, but with great difficulty shee escaped from them, and got safe into the Harbour.

The Valiant and victorious Marquis of *Argyle* hath now forced the Earle of *Montros* with his Army (consisting of Irish Rebels, and Anti-Covenanters, who are of the same complexion with them) out of their fast holds in the Mountaines, and that he hath driven them into a narrow Necke of land called *Kentier*, which lyeth upon the South-West Coast of *Scotland*, and is within six houres sayle of *Ireland*. Out of this place we have received Intelligence, that these bloody enemies cannot stirre, unlesse (by adventuring to swim for their safety) they will commit themselves to the mercy of the Sea. The Marquis of *Argyle* (who is carefull to make use of his advantage) hath encompassed them round with twelve Regiments of men, so that they must bee inforced either to fight for their lives, or starve for want of foode in that wilde and barren place. Neither is it possible for them to transport themselves into *Ireland*, because a Squadron of Scotch ships are ready upon the Coasts to attend them: Wee understand besides, that the Forces of *Mountros* are nothing so numerous as hath bene formerly reported: His whole Army consisting (as it is reported) of not
above

above that choise Land Heale and Foord. The coldness of the season, and the extremities of that inhospitable place, where they quivered on the mountains all this Winter time, having consumed the greatest part of them. It is believed, that by the next Letters out of *Scotland* we shall receive Intelligence, that these barbarous and unquiet enemies are utterly extinguished.

We understand from *Scarborough*, that *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, with the assistance of *Sir Henry Bellasis* and young *Sir Thomas Gower*, committed daily many outrages at sea, infesting the coasts, in such manner, that by reason of the daily Piracies the Town of *Scarborough* is said to be a second *Dunkirk*. They bring in many prizes, which makes them to increase both in number, and in power. And yet the Letters from thence do mention, that there are still some hopes to reduce it to the Obedience of the Parliament, in regard that *Sir William Cholmley*, a gallant and well-affected Gentleman, and brother to *Sir Hugh*, is now come thither, who it is thought, may prevail much upon the Inhabitants, if the beheading of the two *Hothams* (use the words of the Letter) hath not rendered them the more intractable.

Letters of the same date, which is *Janu. thirteenth*, do certify, that *St. Ives* Castle is straitened but at distance, there was no mention of any darkhelle at all, which some report to have lately and miraculously covered that Town and *Castle*. It was signified that *Boston* Castle did still stand in opposition, and so did *Sandwich* Castle. But the sieges at *Carlisle* did exhaust our forces, wherein they write from *Torke*, they are very much abused to no purpose.

But *Pomfratt* at this instant is the object of the County of *Torke*, the great Guns that came from *Torke*, were planted against it but on Tuesday, *January* the fourteenth, at night. All the Wednesday following, they heard them at *Torke* to thunder against the Castle of *Pomfratt* which is eighteen miles from *Torke*. There was for certaine, a hundred and twenty Demy-Canon shot that day made against it, which made a little breach into the Castle, the Walls thereof being very strong, and the great Ordinance being planted about a hundred and threescore yards from the Walls.

Friday January 24

This day there was a long debate and severall conferences about the persons that were to treat on His Majesties part. The Lords propounded reasons that a safe Conduct might be granted to some of the persons nominated by the K. without any exception. The House of Commons were unwilling that those persons on whom were conferred some new additions of titular Honour should have any safe Convey granted, because it was contrary to one of the Propositions presented to the King, which was that all Titles of Honour whatsoever conferred on any by His Majesty, since the carrying away of the great Seal, shall be of no effect. At the last it was resolved, that *Sir Peter Killigrew* should be sent away to *Oxford* with a safe

Conveyed to the Commissioners that are to Treat on His Majesties part, but all his points conferred on any during the difference were to be taken off and nothinged.

The House of Commons received a Petition from diverse Gentlemen and freeholders of *Bedfordshire*, complaining of the insolencies and outrages of some Souldiours of the Earle of *Manchesters*, desiring redresse from the Parliament. Another petition was delivered from *West of Sussex* to the same effect, complaining of their being almost quise and ne by reason of the multitude of Souldiours who oppresse them, and live on free quarter. A Committee is appointed to consider and to redresse these abuses.

At the same time also was presented a petition from the County of *Backingham* concerning the same subject and the great disorder of our Souldiours, which was also referred to the former Committee, but concerning some horrible outrages and rapes committed by some who doe put themselves in the Parliaments services in *Sussex*: It was ordered That Colonell *Stapley* doe send up those Souldiours that they may be proceeded with according unto Justice.

The instructions this day came in concerning the manner of Treating. And it was propounded that the businesse of Religion should be accorded in tenne dayes. And that one of our Commissioners shall come unto the House from time to time to acquaint them with the daily proceeding, and in case they cannot come themselves to send them word. It was also propounded: That on whatsoever thing they treat it should be done by giving in of papers in writings, that so no occasion of difference hereafter or for the present might ensue.

The House was turned into a Grand-Committee to compleate the Ordinance for the new Modell of the Army: And the Members of each County contained in that Ordinance, did present the names of the Commissioners for every County to raise the money assayed by the Ordinance.

The businesse of the Lord *Marquis* was this day debated. Master *Pryn* made a long Speech, wherein hee expressed his great abilities, And Master *Twisden* did speake very well for the defendant.

The Field-News.

BY a Letter from a great Commander in *Cocheshire*, we can acquaint you with remarkable news, which is, that Sir *John Byron* the Governour of *Chester* understanding that the Garison of *Boston* Castle were in great distresse for want of Provisions, did send forth a thousand Foot and Horse to relieve the Garison, and to raise the siege from before the Castle, which the vigilant and active Sir *William Brereton* understanding he drew into the Field about two hundred horse and five hundred Foote, In the meane while the Enemy drew neere to the reliefe of the besieged, and Colonell *Jones* and Major *Lambert* the chiefe Commanders of our Forces under Sir *William Brereton* did draw neere unto their Reare & were careful to observe their motions. This the Enemy observing did resolve to give us battell, which our men, though less in number, yet adding courage to their Cause

were

were ready and eager to entertain them. They faced one another without striking any blow at all for a little time; but our men, who had rather be Actors then spectators, impatient of delay, did cry out to charge, which Major *Brookes* performed with so much courage and successe that the enemies horse, at the first impression wheeled about, and had much added to rally themselves againe. In the meane while the Muskets on both sides did charge their chipherick and mortall errands and for two houres, space the thundering disputation did continue, At which time the enemy weary and discouraged, began to thinke of flying, and a new leare, that our befigers at *Biston* Cattle, would advance to our assistance, and fall upon them in their Rear, which did notably serve to increale our victory.

And this leare made as great an impression upon their mindes as our forces did upon their bodies, so that casting downe their Armes, and leaving their honours with their ranks and files, in great disorder & tumult they made hast to *Chester* to, our men pursuing them at the heeles & had not Captain *Zinchy* on our side at the second charge beene shot in the belly, performing all the offices of a gallant man. It is conceived that very few of the enemy had returned to *Chester*, but his troope (being raised all at his owne charge) were so tender of him that they seemed all to bleed in his wounds, and were more mindfull of his safety, then of the atchievement and acclamations of the victory, there were many slaine upon the place, and many in the pursuit, there were taken two Lieutenant Colonells, two Colonells, two Captaines, divers Officers, and twelve or thirteen Gentlemen of that County of great quality, two hundred Prisoners, two hundred horse, and about eight hundred Armes, besides much good booty, which served to encourage our men; so that it is conceived that *Biston* Cattle being now utterly disappointed of reliefe will be suddenly surrendered: and further certified, that sir *Thomas Middleton* and Colonell *Mitton* have united their forces together, and are come as far as *Whitchurch* which lieth on the borders of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, and that the victorious sir *William Brereton* will joyne his forces with them, and will all joyntly march to the City of *Chester* to besiege it, we are also informed that the Lancashire forces are got over *Liverpoole* water into *Warrington*, to streighten the City of *Chester* on that side, and the watchmen in *Denbighshire* and *Flinthshire*, have sent to sir *Thomas Middleton* to desire some of his forces to assist them, and they will beguirt *Chester* on the *Welch* side. so that it is hoped that City will not be able to hold out long against such considerable forces that will on every side incompass it.

Saturday January 25.

A Petition was presented to the House from the Lord Major, Aldermen and Common Councill of *London* for the safety of the West, and more especially the Towne of *Plymouth*, in regard it is a Towne of great concernment for traffick, as also that care might be taken concerning free trade, that Forraigners might

might not get the sole trade of Cloath, &c. unto themselves; they had shanks delivered them for their petition.

The House of Common was turned into a grand Committee, and continued the Ordinance for Tonnage and Poundage for two yeares longer, the new Ordinance being to begin on the twenty fift of March at which time the old Ordinance endeth. A Proposition was made for the exchange of the old Lord *Brenton* for sir *John Northcot*, but it is thought the exchange will not be granted.

The Commons sate long this afternoon to finish the Ordinance for the new Army, and for raising of monyes to pay the same, of which you shall heare further on Munday following: sir *Peter Killigrew* is againe gone to *Oxford*, the Knights new dubbed since the King deserted the Parliament are to continue in the Capacity of that title but the Lords whose honours are confirmed under the Great scale are not allowed of.

The newes from Sea.

WE shall now communicate unto you a treachery attended with so much cruelty, that it is almost not to be paralleled: A *London* ship, belonging to the East India company, which hath beene at Sea about ten monethes, arrived at the Cape of good hope, at which place Caprain *Mucknell* who was Master of the ship finding many of the sea-men and others to be well affected to the Parliament (to compose the differences which daily grew strong amongst them, some standing for the King, and some for the Parliament) he invited the Cap. Merchant, a well affected man, and twenty others that sided with the Parliament, into an Island, pretending to feast and make merry, and being all in their height of honest mirth, newes was brought to Capitaine *Muckfield*, that there was a mutiny in the ship, whereupon he craved leave of the company, to pacifie the tumult, promising suddenly to returne: And being come aboard, having laid the plot before, he seized on the remainder of those Mariners, who did take part with the Parliament, and nayling their eares to the maine Mast he did cut them off, and grievously abused them: the poore men that were left in the Island, seeing the Master not returne, they made fires, & used all the signes they could to be fetched on Board againe; but in vaine, for this cruell and treacherous Master, having obtained his purpose, hoisted up sayle for *England*, and is now arrived safe at *Bristol*, this Intelligence is brought to the East India Company, by one of the Mariners of the ship, who escaped from *Bristol*, and came hither on purpose to declare the Newes, the ship was a new one of five hundred tunnes, and never at sea before, she is estimated to be worth thirty thousand pounds, but there was not in her above seven thousand pound in money.

Munday 27. of January.

THe House of Commons was turned into a Grand Committee to debate on the instructions for the Commissioners concerning the Treaty. And it was agreed that

that they should treat on the settling of Religion, the Militia, and the affaires of *Ireland* for nine dayes.

The Commons sent a Message to the Lords, with certaine Votes concerning the Government of the Church in a Presbyterian way, in which the Concurrence of their Lordships was desired: The Commons this day had a report made to the House of all the appendments to the Ordinance for the New Modell of the Army, and voted the title to the Ordinance which is, *An Ordinance for the new raising and maintaining of Forces under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax*. This Ordinance was sent up unto the Lords, but they being risen, it was debated on the day following.

The Field News

BY Letters out of the West is certified, that Sir Richard Greenwill hath slaine the two Champer-noones in this manner: Greenwill required Colonell Champer-noone to fall a gaine upon Plymouth, and storme it, the Colonell gave him considerable reasons to the contrary, whereupon Greenwill called him Coward, at which ignominious terme, the Colonell discharged his Pistoll upon him, which took no effect then Greenwill fired his Pistoll upon the Colonell, and slew him dead upon the place, which the Colonells brother seeing, fired his Pistoll upon Greenwill, and missed him, whereat Greenwill drew his sword and ranne him through, what the death of these two eminent Gentlemen will worke in Devonshire where they were inhabitants here upon Barnstable time will shew.

Wee understand that Cornwall begins to rise up in Armes, being weary of the cruelty of this insolent and bloody Commander Greenwill. And how the County of Devonshire, will resent the losse of these honourable and desired men, wee will leave unto our Readers to consider. There was a report that five hundred Irish Rebels were landed in Lancashire, but upon better inquiry, they appeared but twenty, howsoever for the present they retarded the 1000. Auxiliaries, which were going out of that County to the assistance of Sir William Brereton who are advanced, and 400 Staffordshire men are united to them: with those twenty Irish, a troope of Horse under the Command of Major Ickson, are landed, and they are gone all into Latham House, it is reported the Earle of Derby is with them. The Garrison of Latham have plundered Captaine Standish house, and have seized on foure Sequestrators on the Parliaments side, whom they have carryed prisoners to Latham.

We understand from Pontefract, that Sir Thomas Fairfax caused a mount to be raised whereon to plant his Canon more neere the Castle at which the Enemy issued out and with high resolution maintained a fight for three houres together, but were beaten backe at last with great losse. The next day Sir Thomas Fairfax did plant his Ordinance according to his desire, and having for three dayes together made a continued battery against the Castle, the breaches are now so wide and many that he is in great hope to be suddenly Master of the place.



Tuesday the 28. of January.

THe Ordinance touching settling the Militia & the new Modell for the Army, for the raising of money by assessment in the Countie for the payment of the same was this day sent up to the house of Peeres, which no doubt will suddainly be passed.

The House of Peeres have agreed that the Church shall be governed by Classicall Assemblies. And now that you might understand what a *Classis* is, I will give you my definition & not leave you unsatisfied as a Gentleman who told me that a *Classis* was as the *Classes* were in *Holland*, which is as much to say that a *Classis* is a *Cassell*. I doe conceive therefore a *Classis* to bee, an Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of a selected company of Divines appointed to bee overseers in the government of the severall Churches or Congregations committed to their charge. And indeed this government is much after the Nature of a Bishoppricke, but onely that the power before which was included in one is now distributed unto many.

Sir Peter Kill grew is returned from *Oxford* & hath brought word that his Majesty is willing to have his Commissioners to treat under any capacity or titles whatsoever.

The Field News.

THis day wee understand that Colonell *Blague* the Governour of *Wallingford* Castle issuing forth for forrage did meeete with a Troop of the Parliaments forces, over whom Colonell *Craford* did command in person. These two brave Commanders according to their courage, and their cause singled themselves out to encounter another: It was a brave fight no doubt and worth the beholders to see these two Champions on horse back acured, pleading the Justice of their cause with the edge of their Swords. But the Parliaments Champion prevailed, and Colonell *Blague* made a shift from him wounded in many places, and in great danger of his life: After this the Troops on each side imitating the valour of their Commander, fell upon it pell-mell, in which our men shewed so much gallantry, and were so much the superiour that (if wee heare the truth) not above five men of a whole Troope which were full threescore attended Colonell *Blague* to *Wallingford*.

Wednesday January 29.

THis day the House sate till nine in the morning to give instructions to the Commissioners that are now gone to *Warrbridge*, you must not expect that we should give you the Instructions at large, for they containe a full sheet of paper, and are not to be communicated, this onely we can informe you, that they first sit three dayes on the Militia, three dayes on the establishment of the Reformed Religion, and three dayes on the Affaires of Ireland, I pray God give his blessing on the Treaty, And let all that read this say Amen.

There preached before the House of Commons Doctor *Wincombe*, and Master *Walker*, and if I am not mistaken Master *Kines*, and Master *Newnam* preached in the Abby.

The Field News.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hath summoned *Pontefract*, but the stubborne Garrison did utterly refuse to obey his Trumpet. We heare that the enemy hath issued from *Bazing*, and fallen upon *Farnham* and taken forty of our men Prisoners, with some plunder.

FINIS.

Nov. 84

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVET

Communicating His Intelligence

TO THE KINGDOME

From Thursday the 22nd of January to Thursday the 30th of January 1605.

Thursday the 23rd of January.

WE had news from about *Oxford* that there are few or no forces in *Oxford*, save the Kings and Queens life guard. The Countess Major *Lays* Regiment, and the Town Regiment: we shall put them on a progress sooner this, then last year, we hope, *P. Mansfield* being gone to *Worcester* with 500 horse, and so to *Wales*, but too late to visit, only he may receive the scattered *Welsh*: That in *Wiltney*, *Woolstocke*, *Long Hamborough*, and the parts about are near 1000 enemies. The forces intended for *Ken*, under the Lord *Hopson* and *Goring* are come back Westward, not daring to adventure upon those difficult passages, and besides the Plot of encouragement took now they mist of *Dover*, and we catch the Army men. They talk in *Oxford* with a great deal of terror, that are 40 Troopes of our horse to be quartered about *Tame*, and that they have been within three miles of

(1670)

Oxford, which much distracts the mindes of the vulgar: we shall put them to it better yet, if we get our Ordinance.

The three Lords which were suspected for giving Coll. *Brown* intelligence, are now at liberty: only the Lord *Piercy* much dis-esteemed, it was but a Plot of *Digby* to keep them from coming to Treat: They begin, but not very much to prepare for the Summer or Spring; no, if we but hinder their preparations on our side, they can do little of themselves.

The forces of the enemy are not in *Buckinghamshire*, a few only attending *Banbury*; well *Banbury* we will have a better bout at you this Summer. They about *Banbury* stand for money, and Teente to convey Carriages from *Oxford*; as like to be true, for they are afraid of our new Army, and so will be packing up every day, if the Treaty succeed not, they will have elbow room, or they will go to *Wales*.

They tell us in Print that they had the better at *Abingdon* bridge, and that they have killed divers of Sir *Thomas Middletons* men, for profaning *Christmasse* day, not in Feasting, but in fighting, and that his Grace of *Cauentury* was a holy innocent Saint; with much more in his commendation, and which is a wonder, those that seemed to be most respectfull of him, them they are most invective against in contumelious termes, a reward for bawling with so Capitall an offender.

This day the house of Commons debated the businesse of Church Government, as that severall congregations be under one Classis, severall Classis under one Province, and so upward, but the great debate was whether this Church Government is *pure Divine*, and whether subject to the Civill power: the first was resolved in the negative, the latter in the affirmative, and indeed if were said if Discipline should once be stretcht to *pure Divine*; yes true, we had dayes in which sometimes this, then that was *pure Divine*, but now we are grown wiser, and set up as a forme of Church Government that is alterable; yet as neer as can be gathered, according to the practise of the Apostles, and Primitive times, which there's no question, but it is above any whatsoever.

They declared also, that that erected should be subject to the Civill power, and most reasonable that it be so, for otherwayes Kingdoms may fall out, and the King and State cannot help it, and King *John* may happily in time kneel to *Thomas Becket*: We have tried Episcopacy, and found that intolerable, and universally so: Presbiterie hath been tried, not lost his credit ever since *Luther*, and *Calvins* time, we say, if a man have a bad servant, he will put him away and trie another: let us trie this new way,

way, no doubt it will be carried on with much humility, and self denial in the Agents, and they will consider that rule, look what they would have had the Bishops have done to them, they will do to those that are to be governed, and also to those contrary minded, its one of the best rules in the Gospel. *But as you would be done by.*

The Lords had some discourse about the altering the Fast to Tuesday, that the Treaty be not interrupted for a day, but it was agreed the Fast be as before, and conceived that they that were to go, might keep time notwithstanding.

The Ministers in *Suffolke* delivered a Petition for suppressing Sects and Schismers, and had thanks, and indeed they merited it, and no doubt they of the Clergy will do their parts by the word, which for every error is more or lesse Antichristian, and for the destruction of that. The breath of his nostrils, and brightness of his coming seems to be the way; let none say hence we are for Independance, or universal toleration: There is a great difference between universal toleration, then which, nothing seems more dangerous to a State, and clapping men out of one opinion into another; for it cannot be instanced, that two in the world, since the world began, have been of one minde in all things. Why should not then a quiet latitude be allowed, but yet the Magistracy are judge of that.

The last week we told you of some intentions of *Northampton* to prevent the plunderings and taxes laid by the enemy upon the County, sufficiently demonstrated in the late sad business upon that well affected Town of *Kilby*. We understood this day they advanced with intent to fortifie *Fasslie* house, and why not an enemies house, rather then a friends, and four or five miles nearer the enemies quarters, if it could have been had, as no doubt it might: but they had not been there with their horse and foot much above a day, but their Scouts brought them word the enemy was coming with more horse then his Majesty hath within ten miles of *Oxford*, which amazed the party, that they returned back to *Northampton*. It is honorable to make a good retreat: but it seems the party proved but an hindered horse come with Major *Farmers* Corps to his mothers nece *Fasslie* to be buried; we see he that was brave, and frighted, and killed by the horse of *Abington*, in his going to his grave, sending his ghost before, frights the powers intended to *Fasslie* back to *Northampton*, but we heare they are gone again excellent well appointed.

But that we may make amends for this, we shall tell you of as good a piece done by us upon the enemy in *Inclosure*, for with sorrow we may speak it, the enemy is over active in *Newark*, and as their manner is, they send for so much money to a Town, and if it be not sent, they send out a party of horse, fetch away the Constable, and others most eminent of the Town, and keep them untill they have the money, and upon this claim they had got 22. Constables together, and were with about 100. horse carrying them away for *Newark*, but being discovered by some of the Parliaments party, about 40. horse made after them, and pursued them 10. miles upon the Carrre, overtook them, redeemed the Constables, and took all, or the greatest part of the enemies, and what of this piece of service was done by an Independent party, but over the world, and so advantageous for that, we do not believe the Constables were like the Jew, rather be prisoners, then delivered by them. For shame lets chive or seek the ruin of none but our Common enemy.

And this day also (to break our enemies hearts be it spoken) we had certain intelligence from *Stratford*, that they are there in a good posture, and sit quietly in Parliament, and also that the nimble enemy is hunted from one mountain to another.

and dares not abide a blow when he sees his enemy come, and now if all the *Oxford* hopes be fixed upon *Marston*, they are but in a running, fleeting, and decaying condition.

Friday the 14. of January.

WHEN we had certain news of a victory obtained by Sir *William Brereton* party, that Sir *William* that in all encounters this was against the enemy, ever had an undisputable Victory, as that in which my Lord of *Northampton* was killed, that in which *Byron* was so paid near *Nantwich*, that when Sir *Thomas Middleton* was in danger, to passe by many other, this last is thus delivered. There came a party of 300. horse, and 800. foot, which was to raise him from before *Berckon* Castle, and relieve that place, which he got knowledge of (see what it is to have good intelligence) met them, routed them, took about 100. horse, as many men, for more, scattered the whole, and followed them to the gates of *Cheshire*, and might have gone with them, had he had some foot, which had been an excellent, thereas no way of surprise like it: Had the Duke of *Buckingham* hearkened to Col. *Borromy* in that particular, when they were in the Isle of *Ree*, otherways called the Isle of *Rise*, we had had that Island, and that Castle, and *Rebelle*, which for the weal of England, had been better then half *France*, but this is besides the Victory. The Letters tell us, that he is now in hopes of the Castle, and that Sir *Thomas Middleton* is with him, and that the *Lancaster* men are not yet come, yet have received a fortnights pay: Our defeat of the *Germanian* Welch was also confirmed, and so it will prove a harder work for *P. Maurice* to grow great, and furnish his 500. horse with an Infantry, then his Commission be as large as it will: yet he much desires that the horse of the Prince coming, may be ballanced by others sent: Sir *William* took 2. Colonels, a Lieut. Colonel, 10. other Officers.

This day several Conferences was about this, whether they on his Majesties part appointed to treat, who had received honour from his Majesty during the difference, should be treated with as in their new, or former state, the Lords seemed to be much for it at first, but after agreed, and sent Sir *Peter Killigrew* to let his Majesty know they would treat with them only as in their former capacity, and because the Royalists will be apt to say, that this is to pick a quarrell, we will offer them much to their consideration, The Lords are one of the Estates, and it in this time of difference 20. or 30. Lords should be made, that have hardly 2. Lords Estates among them all, and these should be at his Majesties devotion for a revenue to the honour, what a brave house of Lords should we have after the accord, better take in the Bishops again: And besides if we think that all that have assisted his Majesty in this war have committed Treason, as hath sundry times been expressed, then it is far more allow that honor be conferred for this service? And lastly, how many by this allowance might purchase honour, and so be a spring to his Majesties further war, when they see this allowed, who now stand off, and will not buy, because they feare the Title: Consider also, Prince *Maurice* it may be may make 100. Lords and Knights in Wales by his new Commission, and will that do well? We could give you many more reasons.

This day the businesse of the manner of treating came in, ten dayes are for Religion, and constant information is to be given to the house from day to day.

But as if we had not miseries enough from our enemies, Position upon Position from *Sussex*, *Buckingham*, and *Bedfordshire* came in, and all crying aloud of our Soldier plundering, rapine, and other such like trifling faults: this shews it was high time to new mould, and we long to see how just and honest our new Army will be,

no question but there will be faults committed; but rest confident, they will be punished to purpose.

The Lord *Macquibo* was this day at Kings Bench bar, and Counsell on both sides argued; Mr. *Pryn* was for the King, and Mr. *Twissden* for the Offender.

We understood that an East Indian Ship hath plaid the *Indus* with their Masters, and instead of going their voyage, are come into *Bristol*, the value is 20000.li. and better, but the Royalists make it 100000.li, and whar then, will this do any good? Yes, it will ballance the better his Majesties designs this Summer, which will make the Treaty the more difficult, and in all probability hinder an accord, and so *England* will be undone, and what will they be the better?

And as we hear since, to make this treachery the more odious to posterity (for be it of what side it will, betrayings is base treachery) this betrayer hath left 23 men (the little finger of the worst of them, worth all he had along to *Bristol*) in a Country where they have nothing to help them, neither for defence nor sustenance: and over and above (so good intelligence have we) they say he couzened a Portugall of 5000.li. in gold, & other things, this is an English man, that will do his Country credit.

Saturday the 26 of January.

WEE had news that Major *Sydenham* had taken a Troop of horse at *Blandford* of Coll. *Cockers*: That the enemy lies quartered in *Warminster* with Irish, and with English in other Towns not far off: That the forces of Major Gen. *Holborne*, do now enlarge their quarters as far as *Crakebourne*: That *Dorington* is at *Holchester*, and there fortified, sure they will have half a hundred Garrisons in the West, if we have not thither: That the Contest between *Bainfield* and *Hopton* was so hot, that *Hopton* is retreated towards *Oxford* in discontent: That the forces in *Salisbury*, and upon the West side under *Goring* are 5000. that the shops in that City are all kept shut, because the Souldiers are so unruly: That the forces of his Majesty, draw more, and more into those parts, and increase much: That there is some bickring between our Garrison of *Gloucester*, and those joyned, and P. *Maurice*: we are very willing to believe, when it is confirmed.

The Commons continued Poundage and Tonnage for two years after the 25. of March coming, at which time the Ordinance ended, see how carefull they are that the Seas be looked unto, and its due need.

The City Petitioned in the behalf of *Plimouth*, that there may be care

taken for relief untill opportunity give leave for the unblocking of it, which hath been now off and on for two years. The Commons finished in the afternoon the businesse of the Army Ordinance, which we have cause to be glad of; for the enemy as this day we understood, is drawing again towards *Winchester* from *Salisbury*, and its to be feared will do more mischief neerer hand.

Sir *Peter* went this night for *Oxford*, to know his Majesties pleasure concerning the Lords, the businesse of Knights being waved, as not to be so mischievous as the Lords, their honour dying with them, and gives them no Vote in Parliament.

We hear that *Greenwill*, that lies before *Plimouth* hath Pistolled two *Champernoons*, they are we believe the sons of Sir *Henry Champernoon*, and if so, Gentlemen of an ancient family; and much ancients then he that killed them: We hope they at *Oxford* will not wonder if we trie men, and upon proof being found guilty, if we take off their heads, when such men as *Greenwill* shall Pistoll men better then himself, and never trie them; the Gentry and Nobility of *England* are kindly dealt withall by the *Oxford* party.

Monday the 27. of January.
THE Commons transmitted to the Lords some of the Church Votes, the Lords took them into consideration, and at the instant past one of them, and no doubt vwill do the rest in short time, for if Religion be the first to be insited upon, and that must be done in ten dayes, it will be necessary that we agree upon what we desire, that so there may be no stop on our part: And as for his Majesties Commissioners, there are that with great confidence do say, there will be no difference about Religion, but a sudden agreement: God send it prove so throughout.

The Commons agreed upon the Ordinance, for the maintaining of the forces to be commanded by Sir *Tho: Fairfax*, and had sent it up to the Lords, but that they rose sooner then usually they do: we hear they are as jocund at *Oxford* for this alteration, as they were, when they knew they were beaten at *Marston* Moore, and that *Yerke* was lost.

The instructions for the Treaty was this day agreed, so that there remains nothing but making ready and away.

Sir *Peter Killigrew* returned from *Oxford* this day, and with a confiding Answer, so desirous are they, that the Treaty be begun, that his Majesty is willing to wave that point of honour, and to have his Ministers Treat in any capacity desired.

This day there was news that Sir *William Brereton* had taken a ship going

going for *Ireland* with 3000. Armes, and Armes going to the Rebels, part of amends for our *East-Indie* ship, and no doubt will disadvantage them, as much as the other us, and more; besides we believe the ship was a good one, and there was something in it besides Armes; how this land Commander took this ship, we did not this day understand.

We hear this day that about 20. Carts laden with Cloth going for *London*, were taken by the Kings forces, but after redeemed by a summe of money, and that *Glocestershire* suffers much by Sir *Jacob Ashleys* men in *Cyrencester*.

Tuesday the 28. of January.

WE had further knowledge of Sir *VVill. Brerestons* victory at Sea, the Dutchman that came in at *Leverpoole*, was driven in by winds, and so his voyage shortned; he when he saw he could not help it, said he came to trade with Sir *William* for Armes; and we say he came from his Excellency with Armes for the Irish Rebels, whom we must take care to have a law for extirpation of, its a good Boy, put these together.

This day we had news of a notable, and brave piece of service, done by Major Gen. *Craford*, the present Governour of *Alisbury*, who going with 90. horse to seek quarters, and finding none one way, he wheeled about towards *Tame*, and unexpected, he fell upon 120 horse, with whom the Governour of the Castle, Coll. *Blyer* was, these two Champions did not take the advantage of each other, but in faire and open field encountered, and bravely disputed a while the businesse, and doubtfully, but at last our party routed the enemy, and took and killed all, save 14. who escaped with the wounded Governour, 20. were so wounded that they could not be brought prisoners to *Alisbury*; the two Governours encountered each other single, in which *Blyer* received his wound: and this brave action was done by a Presbyterian, and what is that the worse, lets agree and have no differences, but go on against the common enemy.

This day the Commons transmitted the Ordinance for the new Army to the Lords, we believe the Ordinance had been taken into consideration, but for the businesse of the instructions for the Commissioners, which the Commons agreed upon, yea, the private ones this day, and being private we will not make them publike, and we hope that there will no body carry them as fast to *Oxford*, as the Vote of the new Generall was carried.

This day the Navy businesse was concluded: we shall get all into readinesse, and indeed we do it bravely, if we have not an accord, rest upon it, we shall have our war managed excellent well by sea and land.

Wednesday

Wednesday the 29. of January.

We had some of the ordinary talk of *Oxford*, as that the *L. Piercy* is committed for endeavouring to recover the King to the Parliament; the Lord *Savill* and a Dr. of *Maudlin Hall*, as accessories to the same, are also committed: the envy of the Souldiery are much upon those that have any inclination to Peace; which if true, we see a necessity of holding the sword men within limits on both sides: and how sad would it be if his Majesty should be drawn to a compliance with the Parliament, and they not permit it.

Prince *Charles* goes not West, as its believed, untill he sees what the Treaty will produce; greater preparations are daily made of Ammunition, & all things for war, and that the way may be currant between *Bristol* and *Oxford*, all the Fortifications that can be, are made upon the way; also great preparations are made of victuals in *Oxford*, every man commanded to get in half a years provision: And Proclamation is set up, commanding all Souldiers to be aiding: A great difference hath been this week between the Garrison, and the old Governor *Ashton*, but composed. The 20. men wounded in that late, and brave expedition of Major General *Craford* are fetcht into *Wallingford*.

The Lords and Commons fate this day upon somewhat added to the Treaty from the Scottish Commissioners, as to the concluding Religion first, and after some debate the Commissioners addressed to *Tork house*, and so at five a clock away to *Whitbridge*. This day we had news that Coll. *Goring* had sent a party, and had fallen upon a Quarter of ours near *Earnham*, and done us some mischief, as spoiling a Troop or two of our horse, and killed five or six of our foot, and in their usual mercifull way set fire on divers parts of the Town, and burnt much Cornie, and many houses, which shall be made good, when all troubles are ended, the clean contrary way, its to be feared.

We had newes from *Perthsmouth* that General *Goring* was come near thereabouts and had corrupted a millor and divers others to help him to the bridge; we told you when he was there before that we feared some tampering that he was to buie at this season. Great summes he raised out of the people to redeeme their goods; see sadder and sadder effects of our Western oversight, the letter speaks also of beating of drums in *France* upon the coast neer *Perthsmouth*, and that they may come to *England*, which as we have ever to now, with confidence we say, we cannot believe, and whereas its said, there are *Irish* Commanders among them, we care not, for we are assured the French have no such repeer in them, as to be commanded by *Irish* out of *France*.

Sir John Waller is suddenly to go west, they in *Latham house* have broke the Cessation, and acts of hostility begin againe here: *Capt. Chichester* is as we heard, the man that is killed in *Basin*, not *Capt. Rayden*. We are in hopes of *Perthsmouth* Castle, and that the Northern army will come South, and that our new Ordinance will passe the Lords; and we shall be suddenly gathered to deliver poor *Flodden*: *Hansons*, and *Waller*, and one other Regiment of horse are quartered neer *Oxford* to the West.

The last week there was a mistake in the naming the field Castle.

London Printed for R. W. 1645.

Numb. 88



(725)
*A full relation of several passages concern-
 ing the French, the finishing of the Instru-
 ctions for the Parliament Commissioners,
 and their going yesterday to Unbridge.
 The raising of the Government of Walling-
 ford forces by Major-generall Craford in
 Crandomeere, Alisbury, and the taking of
 80 of them prisoners. A Letter concerning
 a designe of the French to land forces neere
 Portsmouth, and of their gathering forces
 together neere Brest in France. The taking
 of 40 Horse and two Colours by Colomell
 Gorings forces at Crandell neere Farnham.
 Six votes of both houses of Parliament con-
 cerning Presbyteriall government.*

13

Mercutius Civicus.
LONDON'S
INTELLIGENCER
 OR



**Truth impartially related from
 thence to the whole Kingdome,
 to prevent mis-information.**

From Thursday January 23. to Thursday January 30. 1644.



He two main busineses of importance since my
 last agitated in both Houses of Parliament are :
 1. The settlement of the government of the Church.
 2. The preparation of Instructions for the Com-
 missioners of both houses of Parliament, and of
 the Parliament of Scotland, which are appointed to
 treat for peace, and the propounding of divers particulars of the
 manner

Tttt

manner of the Treaty. Concerning the former of which (the Church) the house of Commons did on Thursday last resolve upon divers votes which were not fully assented unto by the Lords untill Tuesday last, and therefore I shall here insert a true and full copy of the said votes, being these following, *viz.*

Die Martis, 28 Ianuarii. 1644.

Resolved upon the question.

1. **T**hat the Ministers and other Church officers, in each particular Congregation, shall join in the government of the Church, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

Resolved &c.

2. That the Ordinances in a particular Congregation, are Prayer, Thanksgiving, and singing of Psalmes, the Word read, (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read) the Word expounded and applied, Catechizing, the Sacraments administered, Collections made for the poore, Dismissing of the people with a blessing.

Resolved, &c.

3. That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyteriall government.

Resolved &c.

4. That Sinodicall Assemblies, shall consist both of Provinionall and Nationall Assemblies.

Resolved, &c.

5. That the Church be governed by Congregationall, Classicall, and Sinodicall Assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

Resolved, &c.

6. That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by their respective bounds of their dwellings.

There was one action lately performed in the West, which although it be but small, yet (in regard it was so handsomely attended) I conceive not unfit to be imparted, for - In the last of January. It was thus: one of Colonel Pyes men, and three or foure others, passing through Somersetshire, met with three Waggon laden with

with provision going to Bridgewater, guarded with ten of the enemies musketeeres which they commanded to stand; and beginning to fall somewhat violently upon the ten musketeers, they quickly deserted their charge, and valiantly runne away from our five men as fast as they could, leaving some of their muskets behind them: whereupon Col. Pyms man commanded the Waggoners to drive the three carts of provision to Taunton which was done accordingly; and so that which the enemy provided for their owne party at Bridgewater was converted to a far better use for the supply of our gallant garrison at Taunton.

For the matter of the Treaty, the Commissioners names appointed for to treat, and his Majesties Propositions to the Parliament, I gave you a copy of the last weeke; as also of the commissioners designed in behalfe of the Parliament. Tuesday last, Jan. 28. was wholly spent by both Houses of Parliament in settling of divers things in reference to the Treaty, and severall conferences had between them concerning it. The chiefe businesse (about which there was then some hesitation) was concerning their treating about matters of Religion; whether it should be first of all treated on the first ten daies, and so concluded of in the first place, as was then propounded, and no other businesse whatsoever before the finishing of that taken in hand. Unto which the house of Commons assented, so far as that the matter of Religion should be first agitated; but gave divers reasons against a finall determination thereon before the undertaking of other things, viz.

1. If that onely should be first resolved on, it would be a great interruption to, and consummation of the time of the treaty, for that then the Commissioners could not fall upon any thing else before that was fully agreed upon, and so the intermission of their sending up and downe to each party would take much time, and the Commissioners must be forced to sit un-employed in the interim.

2. That for the particulars concerning Church-government, They were not yet fully and absolutely agreed upon as to all points: and therefore if any thing should bee propounded to His Majesty concerning it without full resolution it could not be expected but that he would defer and deny his assent till it were fully approved

of by both houses: Besides it is conceived, That in regard many particulars referring to the government Ecclesiasticall are so involved and interlaced in all the common Lawes of England with the civill there cannot be any alteration therein without much due and serious examination, and consideration, and therefore it would be a long time before that an Act could be assented unto by his Majesty and both houses of Parliament for the further establishing of all matters concerning it: upon the result of the whole businesse it was resolved and agreed on by both houses, and a message sent to the Commissioners of Scotland for their assent, That *Algernon E.* of Northumberland, and others the Commissioners for the Parliament which I shall now omit in regard they were mentioned last weeke, and *Mr. Alexander Henderson*, should treat with the Duke *Lenox*, Marquesse of Hartford and others the Kings Commissioners, which I shall not againe reiterate, taking in *Doctor Stewart*, concerning the matters of Religion onely, the first three dayes; and so take in hand the *Militia*, the next three dayes; and the affaires of Ireland the next three dayes: That so upon the agreement unto any particular of either of these at the Treaty they might send upto the Parliament for their assent, and in the meane time make a farther progresse in the rest. Let it bee the prayer of all true Christians in the interim, That the issue of this treaty may be the propogation of Gods true Religion in purity, the establishment of His Majesties honour and just prerogative, the confirming of the liberty and rights of the subject, the settling of the priviledges of Parliament, and the advancing of the reliefe of the poore protestants in decaying, distressed, dying Ireland.

I shall in the next place present you with an extract of the Acts of the Nationall Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, assembled by the Kings permission at Charantoum, Anno 1644. 26. Decemb. and dayes following. That thereby you may see what their judgements is concerning independency.

V For what hath bin reported by the Commissioners of the Maritime Provinces, that divers coming from foreign Countries, and who go under the name of Independents, because they teach that every particular

Con.

Congregation ought to be governed by its own particular Laws, without any depending of any in Ecclesiasticall matters, and without any obligation to acknowledge the authority of Colloquies, or Classes, and Synods, for its government and counsell, settling their abuse in this Kingdom, and hereafter they might cause here amongst us many great inconveniences, if in due time there were not order taken, the Assembly fearing least the contagion of this poison gaining ground insensibly, should throw trouble and disorder amongst us; and judging the said Sect of Independants to be not only prejudiciall to the Church of God, in so far, that it endeavours to bring in confusion, opening a Gate to all kinds of Singularities and Extravagancies; and taking away all manner of any remedy to the evil, but also most dangerous to the State, where (if it had place) there might as many religious set up, as there be Parishes or particular Congregations, doth enjoin to all the provinces, and particularly to the Maritimes, to take heed that the evil take no foot in the Churches of this Kingdom, so the end that Peace and Uniformity as well in Religion as in Discipline, may be inviolably preserved; and that nothing be brought in amongst us which may alter in any kind the service due unto their Majesties.

Garrissolo Moderator.

Basnage Adjoent.

Blundel Secretary

Le Coq. Secretary

You have here the judgement of a nationall Synod of the reformed Churches of France, concerning that government of the Churches of Christ, which is commonly called independency: I shall not at all examine the grounds of their publishing thereof, I shall onely observe something which was before omitted upon the conclusion of the Votes of both houses concerning Church Government, which is this: That the present government to be established by the Parliament and Assembly is not to passe *Jure Divino*, but in Parliament, for wee see what hold the Bishops tooke of that Statute for their Function to bee by Divine right; for the prooffe whereof one of their greatest champions Doctor Hall wrote a large Treatise: certainly had that beene unalterable they had ere this not only taken the outworkes; (by introducing superstitious ceremonies

remories, &c.) but as for the Fortiſſe Doctrine of Religion it ſelfe, and ſo ſoone have made the Bulworkes of prelacy and tyranny over the conſciences of men impregnable for a long time; but they are (blessed be God) caſt out as unfavoury ſalt we are now going to try another if they prove as burdeſome (for men are ſubject to errors) there is a liberty left to the Parliamēt to alter.

Out of the Weſt it was the beginning of this weeke advertiſed, That ſkellum *Greenevile* had ſlaine two of the *Champernoones*, two great Champions of the Kings party, and of an ancient Family in Devonſhire. The occaſion where of was upon a falling out at a councell of War at Plympton about the ſtorming of Plymouth a ſecond time, for the which Colonell *Champernoone* the elder brother declared his diſſent, and further taxed *Greenevile* with raſhneſſe and inconsiderableneſſe, for his former reſolute and unſucceſſfull onſet againſt that Towne, whereat *Greenevile* being much exaſperated diſcharged a Piſtoll which hee then had ready in his hand ſlew the ſaid Gentleman, whereupon Colonell *Champernoone* brother being then preſent, and ſeeing his brothers blood ſo inhumanly ſpilt; His piſtoll being ſpanned offered to give fire on *Greenevile*, but miſſing, *Greenevile* immediatly run him through with his Sword. We heare alſo, that Colonell *Roydon* a malignant Citizen, and ſometime governour of Baſing houſe was ſlaine at Oxford upon a private quarrell, but the manner of it is not yet advertiſed. If the enemy go on thus to exterpate the moſt forward men and Commanders amongſt themſelves, there is ſome hopes that their time of deſolation is not farre off, perhaps the Almighty will finde out this way to deſtroy them by their owne private diſſentions as hee once did the Army of the Midianites.

On munday *January 27.* a petition was preſented to the Parliamēt from divers Merchants of the Eaſt-India-company, deſiring a convoy to be granted unto ſuch as they ſhould appoint, to goe to Oxford to petition his Majeſty for the reſtoring of ſuch Bullion and goods as belonged to that Company, which were in a ſhip called the *John of London*, of 900 tun burden, which about eight moneths ſince tooke her voyage from London, intending for the Indies; but was perfidiouſly betrayed by Cap. *Muskeny* the governour

nour of the ship, who tooke an occasion to turne out those Mar-
iners that were in the ship well affected to the Parliament, and then
he and his confederates brought her into Bristol.

The good successe obtained by Sir *Wil. Brereton* in routing the
Chester forces hath been already particularly imparted. The sub-
stance of the service is this: there were 500 prisoners, 200 horse,
400 armes taken, about 60 slaine in the place, and neere 200 wound-
ed; the chiefe of the Commanders taken prisoners were, Col.
Werden, Colonel *Dane*, Lieut. Col. *Gough*, Sergeant-major *Grey*,
Serjeant-major *Deane*, Capt. *Rore Onels*, and others. There was
slaine of our forces, two of Sir *Wil. Brereton*s owne Troop, Lieut.
Col. *Loves Corner* slaine, him selfe sleightly hurt, Capt. *Zachy* Sir
Williams Agitant generall that commanded his owne Troop, thrust
through the thigh, but there is great hopes of his recovery, and six
or seven more of his Troope hurt. Cap. *Blackwell*, who was taken
prisoner by the enemy, is come backe upon his paroll, being sent by
the L. *Byron* now in Chester.

On Tuesday last *January* 28. there came Letters to the Earle of
Manchester, relating a late valiant exploit performed by Colonell
Croford against the enemies forces about munday last, who being
going upon some designe against the enemy, was met by a party
of their horse (about 100.) from Wallingford, commanded by the
governour thereof, between whom (as some report) and Colonell
Croford there was a single encounter, in which the Colonell wound-
ed the Governour of Wallingford, and in fine our forces routed
the whole party of horse, tooke about 60 horse, and tooke and kild
most of the men, so that there were not above 14 of them in all that
escaped backe to Wallingford to acquaint their fellow Cavaliers of
their good entertainment.

On Wednesday last, *Jan.* 29. being the Fast day, both houses of
Parliament sat most part of the day about the sending of forces in-
to the West, and the finishing of the Instructions for the Treaty,
which were then compleated, and the Commissioners of both
houses of Parliament, and the Parliament of Scotland went away
in the afternoon to Uxbridge.

The same day there came Letters to the house from Col. *Leppin*
governour of Portsmouth, wherein he certified, That he had intel-
ligence

ligence by certaine Ships which put in there; That the French had some designe of landing men thereabouts, for which purpose they had drawne many men downe towards Brest in France and to the Sea coasts. Also hee further informed that hee had taken a Miller of that Towne who had held correspondency with the Enemy, and would have betrayed one of the Forts into their hands.

The same day also a report was made to the house from Farnham, That a party of Colonell *Goings* horse had beaten up our quarters at Crundell neere Farnham, and tooke 40 of our horse and two colours, which they carried away with them; and that at their departure they set fire on the Towne in severall places which was afterwards quenched in most places; so that there were burnt downe foure houses and a barne; upon the receipt of this intelligence it was immediatly ordered and agreed on by the house of Commons, that a good strength should bee sent downe towards Farnham to remove them further.

This day there preached in the Abbey at Westminster Mr. *Kiss* and Mr. *Newcome*; and in St. Margarets in the forenoon Dr. *Wincope* and in the afternoon Mr. *Walker*; and Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Mayerd* are appointed to preach before the house of Commons the next Fast-Day.

We had a more particular account of the service performed by Major *Craford*, that the enemies horse were an hundred, and ours about nine score. They met about munday at noone in Crandon, where they skirmished for some time; at last our horse routed the enemy, tooke about 80 horse and as many men prisoners, twenty of which were so weake that the Major left them behind at Tame, and brought the rest to Alisbury. The enemy were going to plunder a towne a mile from Crandon, but by this meanes were prevented. The Governour of Wallingford was nere taking, but escaped. Gra-mercy horse.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *The. Bates* at the signe of the *Maypole* in
on Show-bill neere the Conduits. And for *J. G.* at the
Old-bally, 1644.

UNITY

14

OVER DUTY.

IN

TWELVE CONSIDERATIONS

Humbly presented to the Godly, Reverend, and Learned Brethren of the *Presbyterian* judgement; and the dissenting Godly, Reverend, and Learned Brethren, commonly called *Independant*; contending together about Church Government.

Which tends earnestly to dissuade them from bitter speaking, and writing one against another.

By I. P.

Phil. 2. 3. That nothing be done through strife or vaine glory, but that in meeknesse of minde every man esteeme other better then himselfe.

James 3. 14, 15, 16, 17. But if ye have bitter envying, and strife in your hearts, rejoyce not, neither be liers against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensuall, and devilish. For where envie and strife is, there is sedition and all manner of evil works. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits without judging, and without hypocrisie. Rom. 14. 19. Let us then follow those things which make for peace, and wherewith one may edifie another.


Janu. Licensed and Published according to Order. 31th

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UNFITYOUR DUTY.

In Twelve considerations humbly presented to the godly, Reverend, and learned Brethren of the *Presbyterian* judgement, and the dissenting godly, reverend, and learned Brethren, commonly called

Independents, contending together about

CHURCH GOVERNEMENT.



He errors of the times doth abundantly vindicate the defect of our faith in the knowledge of the truth, And the divisions of the times the defect of our love in the prosecution of the same, *the forme of sound words is to be held fast in faith and love, 2 Tim. 1. 13.* The devouring sword abroad, and the deviding pen at home, rendreth our condition very neere the pit of destruction, and that by a Divine hand of Justice? for as the want of sound knowledge argueth the weakenesse of our heads, (and so our unprofitableness for God) so the want of love the rottenesse of our hearts, and what shall God doe with a weake headed and rotten hearted people, It is hard to say whether is the saddest Omen of our approaching misery; either the unhappie divisions of our owne party, or betwene our selves and the common Enemy, whose promising advantage against our selves in that particular, is their greatest hopes, and our greatest feate; they are united, we divided; they are all one against us, & each of us one against his brother, unity averteth the sons of error & division the sons of truth, which is as if the good should with the wicked, change qualities

qualities, and yet retain privileges, the spirit of pride, per-
viciousness, malice, confidence, envy and
Emulation, doth apparently look (as through a lattice, through
these late times of contention about Church Discipline, be-
tweene (I hope) godly parties on each side, which is as far from
it selfe as the consequence, (if not prevented) are like to be; The
Melancholy and serious observation whereof hath cast mee up-
on these present, suddaine, but reasonable thoughts, which I
have moulded into severall considerations and motives unto a
more sweete, christian, and lovely demeanour of our selves in
our mutuell pleadings and writing against one another, unhap-
pily dissenting about the truth, first consider the minde of God,
revealed in the Scriptures about the same who hath comman-
ded us, to love one another, John 15. 17. to follow the truth in love,
Ephes. 4. 15. to provoke one another to love, Heb. 10. 24. to re-
duce the fallen brethren either in judgement or practise with
the spirit of meekenesse, bearing one anothers burthens, and so ful-
filling the law of Christ, Gal. 6. 1, 2. to take heede of biting and
devouring one another, lest we bee consumed one of another, Gal. 5.
15. 20. walke by the same rule so farre as we have mutually a-
gained, and if any be contrary minded, to wite with Christian re-
spect and love in confidence that God will seasonally reveale the
truth unto the mistaken, Phil. 3. 15, 16. To bee kindly affectioned one
towards another with brotherly love in honour, preferring one another,
Rom. 10. 12. and that this love should not be complementall,
but without dissimulation, Rom. 12. 9. with a pure heart fervent-
ly, 1 Pet. 1. 22. in deede and in truth, 1 John 3. 18. that this bro-
therly love should continue, Heb. 13. 1. and be daily increasing and
abounding one towards another, 1 Thes. 3. 12. with many other
Scriptures of the like importance.

Consider the patterne which is set before you, God is love,
and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him, 1 John
4. 16. Wee differ from God in heart, in life, in judgement, in
practise, and yet still God is love, the father himselfe loveth you,
John 16. 27. hee is therefore followers of God as deare children, and
walke in love, Ephes. 5. 1, 2. the Sonne hath loved you in nature,
kinde, and degree, even as the Father hath loved the Sonne, John
15. 9. That is infinitely, Eternally, and in things infinite, there
are

are not degrees of comparison, he gave himselfe (a measure of his love to us) then the which there could be no greater love, John 15. 13. the inference from hence is verse 17. that ye love one another, the holy spirit is a spirit of love, 2 Tim. 1. 7. and the fruit of it is love, Gal. 5. 22. And where ever it is in truth it knits the heart with the Saints in love, Colos. 2. 2. rooting and grounding them in love, Ephes. 3. 17. causing not onely the report of their faith in Christ Jesus; but also of their love to all Saints to be heard abroad in the world, Colos. 1. 4. the father, the sonne, the holy spirit loveth us notwithstanding our vast and infinite disproportion and difference from this holy Trinity in our judgements, wills, affections, lives, and conversations, and surely they that are taught of God do love one another, 1 Thes. 4. 9. Consider how sweetly, and kindly the almighty treateth with the sonnes of men, his words are soft breaking our bonds, Prov. 25. 15. and his writings are words of reconciliation, sending his Embassadors to beseech us, and most kindly to pray us in Christs name and stead to bee reconciled unto God, 2 Cor. 5. 20.

Thirdly consider, wee cannot as yet bee all of one minde, which is our affliction as well as our sinne, yet may we be all of one heart, the failings wherein is more our sin then our sorrow, unity in judgement is the promised blessing of another age, but unity in affection is our present duty, though we cannot speake all the same things of faith, though our difference in judgement, yet we may all speake the same things of love through the unity of our affections; though wee cannot agree in all things, which should be all our griefe, yet we all agree in this thing, to strive together to know the truth as it is in Jesus, which calles for our love to one another, God in Christ, and Christ in God is the pure spring of that divine love which is alwaies running from God to Christ, and from Christ to God, the streames whereof doe cheare the hearts of all the Saints; but the Saints in Christ and Christ in Saints should make each lovely in each others eyes, our mutual interest in Jesus Christ should make us value each other as pretious Jewells which God will make up in the day of his glory, Mal. 3. 17. We are all acceptable to God in the beloved, Ephes. 1. 6. and why not then unto one another.

Fourthly, Consider, we all know but in part. *1 Cor. 13. 9.* And therefore none are so perfectly acquainted with one truth that he needs no further light about the same, and it is to be conceived that the errors of judgement in the godly, ariseth not from the love of error, but the mistake of truth; so that the light of the Saints possibly may be dim; and their darknesse or ignorance not absolutely without or utterly remote from some light: they ought therefore to here on another patiently, and to beare with one another kindly, it is the propertie of the Father of lights, and of the Sonne of righteousness, the light of the world that in him should be all light and no darknesse at all; *He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in light, for God is light. He that saith he is in light, and hateth his brother is in darknesse, and walketh in darknesse.* (Notwithstanding his great presumption of his large abilities.) *He knoweth not whether he goeth, because that darknesse hath blinded his eyes. verse 11.*

Fifthly, Consider a passionate, peevish, troward, pettish, perverse Professor is seldome acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus, meeknesse encapableth a man to receive the truth. *James 1. 21.* A troward heart and a perverse tongue, or pen commonly goeth together, and *Salomon* saith that *one findeth no good, and the other falleth into mischise, Pro. 17. 20.* He that thinketh he knoweth nothing as he ought to know is in the sweetest capacity to be taught of the father, who filleth the hungry with good things, but sendeth the rich empty away. Resisting the proude, he giveth grace to the humble, the Lord guideth the meeke in judgement, and them will he teach his way. *Psal. 25. 9.* Those who are become like weaned children doth he teach knowledge, and understand doctrine. *Esay 28. 9.* A froward heart, tongue, or pen, is an abomination unto the Lord, and therefore the secrets of the Lord cannot be with such Swelling words commonly come from shallow braines; and the most ignorant are most conceited; *With the lowly there is wisdom. Pro. 11. 2.* A rayling tongue or pen is like the raging waves foming out it's owne shame. *Jude 13.* The Lord teacheth the lowly person, and such is fit to teach his brother.

Sixtly, Consider how much men prejudice the truth by a passionate endeavour to vindicate the same, rayling language and

and inventive lines. vailes the truth that it cannot be seene, who loves to drinke in troubled waters ? or puddle streames ? When mens foame of mallice, envie and discontent, appeare in the surface of their peevisish lines, who will looke for truth therein ? A smooth pen shall not bewitch me, for I will examine what it affirms. A scolding dialect shall not corrupt me, for I will never bestow the paines to read it, truth hath never need of passion, but oft of patience. A froward pen oft times stir up other mens passions, but seldome seeth any mans judgement. frowardnesse raiseth up frowardnesse, and strife stirreth up strife, and both together rejoyceth the Divell and sporteth his children, and the truth is neglected all the while : He that endeavors to conquer error with good successe, must bring along with him meekenesse and truth, and having both may ride on and prosper. *Psal. 45. 4.*

Seventhly. Men doe seldome contend for truth in a rayling dialect, it is mistery more then truth that is so sought out, passion, envie, hatred, mallice are the fruits of the flesh, and can these contend for their destroyer the spirit of truth ? an unbridled tongue, a licentious pen, is the common character of a rotten heart, & *James 26.* The passion of the pen above that of the tongue is the more dangerous signe that the heart is rotten : A passionate tongue doth many times argue the distempers of the head, when the consent of the heart cannot begotten; but a rayling pen doth clearly evince the hearts mallice, commanding the head to subserve the same, a passionate tongue doth often declare a man robbed of his reason, but a passionate pen doth more clearly evince a man robbed of the truth, for his reason is ranged in his malicious lines, the passion of the tongue doth largely proclaim sin in the heart, but the passion of the pen the heart in sin, for deliberation, invention, memory, wit, reason, all are commanded by that heart of sin, truth triumphs only in title, but pride and arrogancy in the matter it selfe.

Eightly, Consider how doth it gratifie the designs of the adversarie, that the Saints should thus wrangle each with his brother, how doth this cheare up the popish, Episcopall, Presbyteriall, Independent, Antinomian, Annabaptist, Jesuite : For I presume the Jesuite personates them all: and whose
ends

ends we prosecute by our unhappie divisions amongst our selves, how is this told in *Gath*, and published in *Askelon*, how doe the daughters of the *Philistims* rejoyce? and the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph? How doe they jeare at our discord, that we our selves proves thornes in one anothers eyes, and goade in one anothers sides? boasting that they lash us with rods, but we our selves with scorpions, and that our own little fingers will be heavier upon one another, then their loines were upon us all. They oppresse us and we were pitied of all, we oppresse our selves and then who pitieth us: They ruine us by an usurpation, and shal we strive to ruine one another by a law? They crush^t us by the heavie sentences of the High Commission, & Star Chamber, & shal we endeavour to do the same by the Authority of Parliament? If we love not one another, let us love our selves, for each undermineth his owne security by circumventing his brothers peace.

Ninthly, Consider how do Saints loose in each others hearts, when they gall and greive and vex one another in each others pen. To give milke and honey for vinegar and gall, blessing for cursing, kind words for bitter language, this is indeed our duty, but hereunto who hath attained? And shal we tempt one another with such provocations? Sorrow and trouble, persecution and affliction, envie and mallice, evill speaking and railing, we expect from the world, but bitter quarter from bitter people: The Saints should be each others shelter, we doe not gather grapes from thornes, nor briers from vines, men doe not gather figs from thistles, nor prickles from figg trees. Churlish language I expect from a *Nabell*, not from a *David*, Scofts from an *Ismael* not from an *Isaack*, Rayling from a *Rahabeika*, not from an *Hezekiah*; Dungeons from an *Ahab*, not from a *Michaiah*, Prisons from an *Herod*, not from *John the Baptist*, Chaines from a *Nero*, not from a *Paul*, Banishment from *Flavius Domitian*, not from *John the Evangelist*, Jeares from a *Julian*, not from a Christian. No, no, gentlenesse and meekenesse, love and peace, kindnesse and goodnesse, bowells of mercy and compassion from the hearts and tongues, the hands and pens of all wherein dwells the spirit of Christ. But when our expectations are failed, looking for peace with *Jer-*

me and no good comes, for helpe from the Saints and behold trouble. When our brethren turnes Dragons, as *Iob* saith, and we are companions to Owles: even birds of prey; How will our bowels boyle and resteth not, our harpe turnes into mourning, and our Organs into the voice of them that weepe? *Job* 30. 29. 31. Hard speeches and heaue hands upon the Saints of God from great Professors, proud lookes, and swelling words have formerly been the certaine prognosticks of approaching Apostacy: and that Character seldome failes. As for my part God give me fauour in the eyes of those who are his Favourite, love in their hearts, intrest in their prayers, and make me to the utmost a friend and a faviourer of them, however they differ from me in my judgement.

Tenthly, Consider, wrangling, writing, and rayling language each against other in our owne party, hastneth our destruction, and hindreth our reformation and who but a Jesuite delighteth herein? What is it which obstructeth the Parliament Assemblie, or Armies, but our unhappie divisions amongst our selves? We want love, and where love is not, where is our piety? and where there is no unity, there is as little policie. For my part the unhappie quarrell between *Presbyterian* and *Independent* speaketh as sadly to me, and threatneth as sorely, as the wofull distance between King and Parliament, and the happie reconciliation of the former parties would quit my thoughts of the feare of the latter, and happie should that man be called by this present age, which should prove an instrument of so good a worke. But where is that pen of peace? and that heart of love? that spirit of meeknesse? and that head of wisdom? How beautifull should the very feet of those be which could bring such tydings of joy to this Kingdome.

Eleventhly, Consider, the difference is more in the heart then in the head, in the affections then in the judgement, which is more dangerous because lesse reconcileable, a gracious heart commands the head to hearken to truth, but a more sound head cannot command a perverse mind, the difference between the parties we speake of is more in shew, then in deed and truth, the *Presbyterian* is departed from *Episcopacy*, the *Independent* questions such and such a qualified *Presbyterie*, but they that are godly of both parties, are not engaged past a

retreat to the truth of God. Who ever can shew it, could each of us lovingly here his brother, happily each might be bettered by the other, those that are the strongest Antagonists about Discipline suppose it a peice of policie, not of divinity, and is it policie for the Saints to ruine one another? Intelligent men are of opinion that if each partie would with meekenesse and patience here one another, reconciliation between them would attend the issue, and shall we destroy one another before we will give one another the hearing? What aparrant untruths, and grosse mistakes even in matters of fact have bene reported of their dissenting brethren; for want of hearing them speake for themselves? I could instance in many in mine owne observations, but that the making up, and not the widening of breaches is my present purpose.

Twelfthly, Consider the deare relation wherein we stand each to other in Jesus Christ, Have we not the same Lord? the same faith? the same baptisme? Did not we all lie together as it were in the same wombe of the Almightyes gracious purpose? are we not all the price of the same ransome? the redeemed of the same Saviour? Doth not the same spirit of Jesus breathe in our hearts? the same blood of Jesus runne in our veines? Are we not all brethren in the faith? and shall brethren reproach brethren? brethren rayle against brethren? brethren undermine the peace and comfort of one another, is it brotherly to discover one anothers weakeneses, failings, and indiscretions? brethren accuse brethren? brethren betray brethren? What! brethren without bowells? without naturall affection to brethren? Who but a *Cain* will seeke the ruine of a brother *Abell*, because his holy services are more acceptable then his owne? Who but a *Ham* will betray the nakednesse of his owne familie? God put enmity between Satan and Saints, but Satan puts enmity between Saints and Saints; whose workes they doe that foment the same. *An. ungodly man diggeth up evil, and in his lips there is a burning fire, and a froward man soweth strife, and a whisperer separateth chiefe freinds.* Pro. 16. 27. 28. and it is a wicked man that walketh with a froward mouth, Pro. 6. 12. And shall such be found among the Saints? Oh where is that spirit which should knit our hearts together in love? Are wee not all members of the same body? if one suffer

suffer doe not all suffer ? and shall we persecute one another ? if one be disgrac'd doe we not all blush ? and shall we shame one another ? is love the signe of a Disciple of Christ ? and shall we hate one another ? doth not each member need his fellow : and shall each destroy each other ? Is the body of Christ the horrid monster of these monstrous times ? Is it thus amongst *Turkes*, and *Pagans*, *Mahumitans*, *Atheists*, or *Papists* ? Doe Malignants thus penne it against Malignants. Cavaliers against Cavaliers ? are there such bitter words or biting language ? such harsh sayings or hard speakings to be heard in the Camp of our adversaries ? Deare sirs. is it truth or trouble you thus pursue ? if the truth, fight for it in its own way, it calls for your love to it self & children & not for your ranckor, for your paines & not your passion, it calls for helpe and not for hindrance, If truth doth reigne, why scratch you her with a crowne of thornes, giving her vinegar and gall to drinke, If truth be queene her royall attendance and maids of honour should be love, and meekenesse, gentlenesse and goodnesse, kindnesse and mercy, forbearance and pittie. Why doe men vex her with pride & passion, strife & contention, frowardnes and anger ? Her Kingdome is peace, her commands are love, her royall law to her royall Subjects is *follow th- truth together in love, Ephes. 4. 15.* Lyons & Wolves, Beares & Tigars, Dragons and Ulcars, with such hurtfull creatures becomes the shady wilder nesse of the wicked world, but none that doe destroy should once approach the Lords holy Mountaine. it becomes Toads to belch out venome, and hellish furies to spit fire, each at other, and not the Saints of the most high God, shall they dig out one anothers bowels, rend one anothers name, plunder one anothers reputes, dearest fits *Turne your swords into plowshares, and your speares into pruning hookes, and learne no more to warr one against another. Esay 2. 4* Let the Wolfe dwell with the Lambe, and the Leopard lie downe with the Kid, and a child by truth leade them both, *Let no corrupt communication come out of your mouth (or pen) but that which is good for the use of edifying, that may administer grace to the hearer, and readers, and let all bitterness and wrath and anger, clamour and evill speaking (or writing) be put away from you, with all mallice. and be yee kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, as God for Christs sake hath forgiven you. Ephes. 4. 29. 31. 32.*

[illegible]

THE
SABBATH¹⁵
TRULY
SANCTIFIED.

Or,
GODLY RULES
And Directions for all Sincere Christian Professors,
for the strict observation of the
LORDS DAY

Before, at, and after the publike Exercises of the
CHURCH.

With an Order from the House of Commons, for the due obser-
ving the Sabbath-Day.

As also,
A Cataloge of the fearfull Judgements that have hap-
pened to wilfull infringers, and profane and
Irreligious Sabbath-breakers.

By A. B. *Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath-day.*

LONDON,
Printed Jan. 31. in the year, MDCXLV.



Die Sabbath. 22. Mar.

It is Ordered, that the Aldermen and Citizens that
serve for the City of *London*, intimate unto the Lord
Maioz of *London*, from this House, that the Sta-
tutes for the due observing of the Sabbath be put in
execution, and that the like intimation be made to the
Justices of the Peace in all Counties of *England* and
Wales.

Hen. Elsyng. Cler. Dom. Com.





THE SABBATH DULY SANCTIFIED.



THE MIGHTY GOD (Creator of all Mankind) will have himself Worshipped, not only in a private manner, by private persons, and families : but also in a more publick sort of all the Godly joyned together in a Visible Church, that by this means he may be known not only to be God, and Lord of every singular person : but also of the Creatures of the whole universall World, and to

that purpose, hath appointed one particular day for his own proper service, which he hath called the *Sabbath*, or *Lords Day*, and with a speciall *Memento*, hath commanded the same to be sanctified, and kept holy, which consists in two things.

First, in resting from all servile and common businesse pertaining to our naturall life.

Secondly, in consecrating that rest wholly to the service of God, and the use of those holy meanes which belong to our spirituall life.

For the First.

1. The servile and common works from which we are to cease, are generally all civill works, from the least to the greatest : more particularly, Exod. 31.
29. 30.

First, from all the works of our calling, though it were reaping in the time of Harvest. Exo. 31.
12, 13.

Secondly from carrying burthens, as Carriers doe : or riding abroad Exo. 34.
15, & 6.

Exo. 34. 2. broad for profit, or for pleasure : God hath commanded , That the
 Joh. 17. 21. Beasts should rest on the Sabbath day, because all occasion of travel-
 22. 27. ling or labouring with them should be cut off from man. God gives
 Deut. 14. them that day a rest, and he that without necessitie, deprives them
 of their rest on the Lords Day; the groans of the poor tyred beasts
 Rom 8. 22 shall in the day of the Lord, rise up in judgement against him; Like-
 Deut. 2. 4 wise such as spend the greatest part of the day in trimming, and pain-
 1. Cor. 9. ting, and pampering of themselves, like Iezebells, doing the Devills
 worke upon Gods day.

Neh. 13. 5. Thirdly, from keeping of Faires or Markets , which for the most
 16. 9. part, God punisheth with pestilence, fire, and strange floods.

Fourthly, from studying any Books of Science, but the holy Scrip-
 Apoc. 1. 19. tures, and Divinity; for our study must be , to be ravished in spirit
 upon the Lords day, In a word thou must on that day cease in thy
 calling to doe thy work : that the Lord by his calling, may doe his
 worke in thee ; for whatsoever is gotten by common working on
 this day, shall never be blessed of the Lord; but it will prove like *A-
 chane* gold, which being got contrary to the Lords Commandment,
 brought the fire of Gods curse upon all the rest which hee had law-
 fully gotten. And if Christ scourge them out, as Theeves, who
 bought and sould in his Temple (which was but a Ceremony short-
 ly to be abrogated) is it to be thought , that hee will never suffer
 those to escape unpunished, who (contrary to his Commandement)
 buy and sell on the Sabbath day, which is his perpetuall Law? Christ
 calleth such sacrilegious Theeves, and as well may they steale the
 Communion Cup from the Lords Table , as steale from God the
 chiefest part of the Lords Day, to consume it in their own lusts; such
 shall one day finde the judgement of God, heavier then the opini-
 ons of men.

Firſtly, from all Recreations and Sports, which at other times are
 lawfull : for if lawfull works be forbidden on this day , much more
 Isa. 58. 13. lawfull sports, which doe more steale away our affections from the
 14. contemplation of heavenly things , then any bodily worke or la-
 bour. Neither can there be unto a man (that delighteth in the Lord)
 any greater delight or recreation, than the sanctifying of the Lords
 Psal. 37. 4 day. For can there be any greater joy for a person condemned, then
 to come to his Princes house, to have his pardon sealed ? or for
 that is deadly sick, to come to a Physicion, that can cure him ? or for
 a Prodigall child that fed on the husks of swine, to be admitted to
 care

ent the bread of life at his fathers table ? Or for him, who fears for sinne the tydings of death, to come to heare from God the assurance of eternall life ; if thou wilt allow thy selfe, or thy servant Recreation, allow it in the six dayes that are thine, not on the Lords day, which is neither thine, nor others; No bodily Recreation is therefore to be used on this day ; But so farre as it may helpe the soul, to doe more cheertully the service of God.

Sixtly, from grosse feeding, liberall drinking of wine, or strong drinke, Eph. 5. 18 which may make us either drowsie, or unapt to serve God with our hearts and mindes. Ro. 12. 11

Seventhly, from all talking about worldly things, which hindereth the sanctifying of the Sabbath, more than working, seeing one may work alone, but cannot talke but with others. Deut. 28. 47.

He that keeps the Sabbath only by resting from his ordinary worke, keeps it but as a beast ; But rest on this day, is so farre commanded to Christians, as it is a help to sanctification; and labour so farre forbidden, as it is an impediment to the outward and inward worship of Almighty God. I Mai. 58. 13

If then these Recreations, which are lawfull at other times, are on the Sabbath not allowed, much more those that are altogether at all times unlawful; who without mourning can indure to see Christians keep the Lords day, as if they celebrated a Feast rather to Bacchus, then to the honor of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour and Redeemer of the world ? For having served God but an houre, with outward shew, they spend the rest of the Lords day in sitting downe to eate and drinke, and rising up to play, first balasting their bellies with eating and drinking; and then feeding their lusts with playing, and dancing : Against which Profanation, all holy Divines, both old and new, have in their times most bitterly inveighed, inso much that *Augustine* affirmeth, that it was better to plough, then to dance upon the Sabbath day.

1 Cor. 10. 7.

Exod. 31. 18. 19.

Aug. in tie Psal. 91.

For the Second.

2. The Consideration of the Sabbaths rest, consists in performing three sorts of duties; First, *before*. Secondly, *At*. Thirdly, *After* the publike exercises of the Church.

* *The duties to be performed before the publike exercises of the Church, are;*

1. To give over working betimes on the Eve, that thy body may be the more refreshed, and thy minde the better fitted to sanctifie the Sabbath on the next day; for want of this preparation, thy self and thy servants, being tyred with Labour and watching the night before, are so heavy, that when you should be serving God, and hearing what his Spirit saith unto the Church for your souls instruction: you cannot hold up your heads for sleeping: to the dishonour of God, the offence of the Church, and the shame of your selves, therefore the Lord commands us not only to keep holy, but also to remember aforehand the Sabbath day; to keep it holy by preparing our hearts, and removing all businesse that might hinder us to consecrate it, as a glorious day unto the Lord; who in the other Commandments, doth but either bid, or forbid; but doth both in this Commandement, and that with a speciall Memorandum, As if a Master should charge his servant to look well unto ten things of great Trust, but to have a more speciall care, to remember one of those ten, for divers weighty reasons: should not a faithfull servant that lov's his Master, shew a more speciall care unto that thing above all other businesse.

Adoc. 2. 3.

Isa. 56. 2. & 51. 13, &c.

Exo. 16.
23, &c.

Thus *Moses* taught the people overnight to remember the *Sabbath*, and it was a holy custom among our forefathers, when at the ringing to prayer on the Eve before, the husbandman would give over his labour in the field, and the tradesman his worke in the shop, and goe to evening prayer, in the Church, to prepare their soules, that their mindes might more cheerfully attend Gods worship on the Sabbath day.

Exo. 9. 15

2. To possesse that night thy vessell in holinesse, and honor; that thou maist present thy soul more purely in the sight of God the next morning.

1 Cor. 7. 5

Gen. 35. 2

1 Sam. 31.

5.

Exo. 19.

16.

Pla. 9. 22.

Ec. 4. 17.

3. To rise up early in the morning, on the Sabbath-day: Be careful therefore to rise sooner on this day, than on other days; by how much the service of God is to be preferred before all earthly businesses; For there is no master to serve so good as God, and in the end, no works shall be better rewarded then his service.

4. When thou art up, consider with thy self, what an impure sinner thou art, and into what an holy place thou goest to appeare before the most holy God, who seeth thy heart, and hateth all impurity and hypocrisy. Examine thy self therefore before thou goest to Church, what grievous sins thou hast committed the week past, confesse them unto God, and earnestly pray for the pardon, and forgiveness of them, and so reconcile thy self with God in Christ, Renew thy Vows, to walk more conscionably, and pray for an increase of those graces which thou hast, and a supply of those which thou wantest; But especially pray that thou maist have grace to hear the Word of God read, and Preached with profit, and that thou maist receive the holy Sacrament with comfort (if it be Communion day) that God by his holy Spirit, would assist the Preacher, to speak something that may kill thy sinne, and and comfort thy soul, which that thou maist doe, poure forth thy prayers to Almighty God, who upon thine unfained repentance, will enable thee, and hear thy earnest and most humble request.

Ag. 12. 31

Ro. 2. 12.

1 Thes. 2.

8.

Now in the Name of Almighty God (who rested having created heaven, and earth) and of his eternall Son Jesus, the Redeemer of his Church, who shall shortly come on the dreadfull day of doom, to judge all men according to the obedience, which they have shewed to his Commandments: I exhort, nay I require thee, who readest these words, as thou wilt answer before the face of Christ and his holy Angels, at that day, that thou better weigh, and consider, whether Dancing, Stage-playing, Masking, Carding, Diceing, Tabling, Ches-playing, Bowling, Shooting, Beare-baiting, Carousing, Tipling, and such other fooleries of Robin-hood Morrice-dances, Wakes, and May-games be exercises that God will blesse and allow on the Sabbath day. And seeing no Action ought to be done that day, but such as whereby wee either blesse God, or look to receive a blessing from God, how darest thou do these things on that blessed day, on which thou darest not to pray to God, to bestow a blessing on it to thy use? Hear this, and tremble at this, O profane youth of a profane age! O heart all frozen, and voide of the feeling of the grace of God; And having every day in six, every hour in every day, every minute in every hour, so tasted the sweet mercie of thy God in Christ, without which thou hadst perished every moment, yet canst not finde in thy corrupt and irreligious heart, to spend in thy Masters service that one day of the week, which he hath reserved for his owne praise and worship. Let men in defence of their profaness, object what they will, and answer what the De-
vill

will puts in their mouths: yet I would wish them to remember, that seeing it is an ancient tradition in the Church, that the Lords second coming shall be upon the Lords day, how little joy they should have, to bee overtaken in those carnal sports, to please themselves, when their Master should find them in spirituall exercises serving him. The profanest wretch, would then wish rather to be taken kneeling at prayers in the Church, then skipping like a Goat in a dance. If this cannot move, yet I would wish our impure Gallants to remember, that while they thus dance on the Lords day (contrary to the Lords Commandment) they doe but dance about the Pits brink, and they know not which of them shall first fall therein; whereinto being once fallen, without repentance, no greatnesse can exempt them from the vengeance of that great God, whose Commandment (contrary to their knowledge and conscience) they doe thus presumptuously transgresse. If then Gods Commandments cannot prevaile with thee, nor Gods Word advise thee; Then let these ensuing Examples of Gods judgments on Sabbath-breakers, deterre thee from the wilfull profanation of the Lords day.

Laſtan. 1.
7. cap. 1.

The Lord, who is otherwise the God of mercy) commanded *Moses* to stone to death the man, who (of a presumptuous mind) would openly goe to gather sticks on the Sabbath-day; The fact was small; true, but the sin was the greater, that (upon so small an occasion) would presume to breake so great a Commandment.

Num. 15.
2.

Nicanor offering to fight against the Jewes on the Sabbath day, was slaine himself, and 3 5000. of his men.

A husbandman grinding corne upon the Lords day, had his Mill burned to ashes.

Another carrying corn on this day, had his barne, and all his corn therein burnt with fire from heaven, the next night after.

A certain Nobleman, profaning the Sabbath usually in hunting, had a child like a Dog, and with ears and chaps, and crying like a hound.

A flax-wife, working with her maids on the Lords day, it seemed unto them that fire issued out of the flax, but did no harm, the nex Sabbath it fired indeed, doing little harm; but not taking warning by this, the 3. Sunday, it again took fire, burnt the house, scorched the woman, and two children; whereof they died the next day: but, by the mercy of God, a childe in the cradle was taken out of the fire alive, and unhurt.

At a Beare-baiting in *France*, on the Sabbath, 300. were slaine outright, besides divers lamed, and grievously wounded.

A Miller dwelling in a Town called *Hault*, neer *Westchester*, grinding corn on the Lords day, *An. 1588.* was found dead in his Mill by his wife, on the Munday following, his ears, nose, and lipps eaten off with Rats.

On the 13. Jan. 1582, being the Lords day, the scaffolds fell in *Paris Garden*, under the people at a Beare-baiting, so that eight were suddenly slain, and a great number hurt and maimed. A warning to such, who take more pleasure, on the Lords day, to bee on a Theater, beholding carnall sports, then to be in the Church, serving God with the spirituall workes of Piety.

Stowes
abridg.
An. 1582

At a Bull-baiting in the Popes dominions, 1603. the Bull breaking from the Ring, killing a woman, and so affrighted another woman, being great with child, that she immediately fell in labour, and dyed with her child also.

Many

Many fearfull examples of Gods Judgements by fire have in our dayes been shewed upon divers Towns, where the prophanation of the Lords day hath been openly countenanced.

Stratford upon Aven, was twice on the same day twelve-moneth (being the Lords Day) almost consumed with fire, chiefly for profaning the Lords Sabbath, and for contemning his Word in the mouth of his faithfull Preachers and Ministers.

Torverton in Devonshire (whose Remembrance makes my heart bleed) was oftentimes admonished by her Godly Preacher, That God would bring some heavy judgement on the Towne, for their horrible profanation of the Lords day, occasioned chiefly by the Market on the day following. Not long after his death, on the 3. of April, 1598. GOD. (in lesse then half an hour) consumed with a sudden and fearfull fire, the whole Towne, except only the Church, the Court-house, and the Almes-house, or a few poor peoples dwellings, where a man might have seen 400. dwelling-houses all at once on fire, and about 50. persons consumed with the same, and lately on the fift of August, 1612. the whole town was again fired, and consumed except some thirty houses of poor people with the School-house, and Almes-houses: they are blinded, who see not in this the finger of God, God grant them grace to change their market-day, and to remove all occasion of profaning the Lords Day, Luk. 13. 4. Let other Townes remember the Tower of Siloe, Luk. 13. 4. and take warning by their neighbors chastisements, and fear Gods threatnings, Ier. 7. 27. and beleieve Gods Prophets, if they will prosper, 1 Chron. 20. 20.

Many other examples of Gods Judgements, (as the fire lately at Oxford) might be alledged, but if these are not sufficient to terifie thy heart from the wilfull profanation of the Lords day, It may be (if thou proceed in thy profanation) the Lord will make thee the next example, to teach others to keep his Sabbaths better. Wherefore againe, and againe, in the name of the Lord I exhort thee; Nay I conjure thee, as thou tenderest the salvation of thy own poor soul, that thou remember to sanctifie the sabbath, and to keep holy the Lords Day, if not for the love of him, who loved thee so well, that he gave his only begotten Sonne, to suffer for thy sin, yet for feare of temporall punishment here, and eternall torment hereafter in the world to come.

*Oderunt peccare boni, virtutis honore,
Oderunt peccare mali, formidine pena.*

For love of Vertue, good men from sinne abstaine,
For feare of punishment, the wicked doe refraine.

FINIS.



we tell of Treason
and some hope of Peace;
Or ease of miserie,
though the warre increase.
Greenville (Skellum)
two Champernoos hath slaine,
Plimouth is safe,
envis attempts are vaine;
Chester is weeded,
that our Hiereron sends:
One ship we lost,
two gain'd doe make amends:
Crawford hath beaten Blague,
and must have prayse,
Pomfret's better'd,
thoumen are in a Mace;
Sollenger, Hide,
and Charlie Horse we rocke,
But Waller's going
for the rest to looke.

Be wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning:

Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both
Kingdomes, and relates other Passages observable,
for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 24 of Jan. till Friday the 31 of the same.

WE are now all for Peace; and indeed it is the great
business in hand, and the means (if God please, it
unto us) to save three bleeding Kingdomes, all lan-
guishing in their own blood; the bitter fruits of a
 intestine Warre we have sufficiently tasted. The effects whereof

are nothing else but the wages of sinne, and are but the fore-runners of totall destruction except sinne be removed; God hath given the blessing of a long peace to this Kingdome, above all the Kingdomes of Christendome, and with peace, great plentie of all things; but as our peace hath bred plentie, so our plenty hath begot pride, and in the pride of our hearts, we, our Kings, our Nobles, our Ministers, and all the people were unthankfull, and like *H Ezekiah*, have beene wanting to returne to God according to that which we received, or rather like *Jesurun*, waxen fat, we kicked, and have forsaken God that made us, and lightly esteemed the rock of our salvation. We have abounded in Covetousnesse, in Riot, in Oppression, in Robberie, Rapine, Drunkennesse, Luxurie, Murders, and all Lasciviousnesse, which have contracted all dangerous corruptions, and distempers in the government of the State, and have broken down the bounds of Justice, which like the Sea at a breach, overflowes all, and drives all other before it; while lawes are well observed, and Religion religiously professed, all things goe well; not onely the Peer, but the peasant is in good condition, and sits under his owne Vine, and eats the fruit of his owne labour. But when Lawes are violated, and Religion adulterated, all things goe ill, then Warre entrencheth in at the gates; good men suffer, wicked men beare sway; Countries are wasted, Cities burnt, Churches destroyed, Vice is set up, and vertue is troden downe; all Calamitie is then increased; the Souldier that is mercenarie cares not for friend nor foe, and continuance becomes barbarous, and the enemy of peace; all which we have seene, and under which we now groane; and for which, we the people, the Gentry and Commons of *England*, may thanke our selves; for even while we were in the furnace of affliction, under the violence of tyrannicall government, we drew our swords against our *Zerubbabels*, and murmured against our *Moses* and *Aaron* stirred up by God to be our deliverers, and therefore doe we still dye in the wilderness: yet wee cry for peace, and for peace I shall ever pray: if God give quietnesse, who can make trouble? But while God hideth his face, who can behold him? whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only.

Thus much I can assure you, that the Parliament, who are under God your deliverers, have with all readinesse (so farre as with safetie they may) consented to the King, and have on Saturday last sent Sir *Peter Killigrew* with a safe conduct to *Oxford* for all the persons

persons nominated by the King to treat. And which is more, they have sent to all Ministers of every Parish within the Line of Communication, to desire them on the Fast on Wednesday to seeke God by prayers, for a blessing upon this treatie to the Kingdomes peace and safetie : what God will doe for a sinfull Nation, (that for unpenitencie deserves nothing but destruction) we know not, the more we seeke him the sooner the blessing will come ; let no man despaire, nor let any man be too confident, for many treaties have beene proved to have sugered words and bloodie acts ; I will hope better of this, but I would have all men feare the worst, and set upon the meanes to prevent ill by it.

It cannot be imagined, that some particular Ordinances or Lawes assented to, can work a cure to a State wholly corrupted in government, no more then to thinke some slender medicines outwardly applied can restore an outward corrupted bodie, till it be thoroughly purged of those humours from whence all distempers flow ; such a healing as is not firme ever breakes out more incurably : we must be contented to continue Warre, while we have assurance that we may live in peace, and not lay downe our Armes, that our heads may be stricken off, & our posterities enslaved both in soule and bodie ; but it is fearfull, and a miserie of miseries, that English Free-men should (as too many in all the Counties of *England* have done) draw their Sword and continue a Warre to make their posteritie slaves : God oven their eyes, and strike their hearts with remorse.

On Saturday the Commons sate till late at night, and concluded all things that chiefly concerne the new Armie of 21000. (or I may say, more proper the New Modell) and on Monday they finished the Ordinance for the same, and provide well for sure and settled pay to the Armie, and against free quarter by any, or violence, or plunder, &c. which will be an happinesse even in miserie, and without doubt is an act as acceptable to God, as it can be pleasing men ; the Kingdome will find many evils to be removed under which it hath suffered, for (I speake what I know) the Parliament is very sensible of many things not well ; but the many and great businesses of Parliament prevent speedie redresse : although many particulars make up the publike, yet in saving the publike many particulars may miscarrie, and cannot be prevented in such times as these, when men are found full of publike words, but act

to private ends; he that in such a case as we now are ingaged in will not denie himselfe, cannot be a good Christian, nor will bee a good Common-wealths-man.

The Ordinance for the New Modell of the Southerne Armie of 21000. was sent up from the Commons to the Lords on Tuesday, which for my part I thinke will be quickly assented unto; though some are of another opinion, I know not their reasons, but I beleieve the Lords will not hinder but further such a work, it being at this time of so great importance to the good of the Kingdome, and welfare of themselves, whose share is in the Kingdomes safetie: let men thinke and whisper what they will, I wil with confidence beleieve the Lords will readily concurre in this thing. The Commons have had debate concerning the Noble, Valiant, and faithfull Earle of *Essex*, how to expresse sufficient honour and thankfulnesse for the great Service and fidelitie they have found in him to the Kingdome, which will be by them manifested to his living praise, both for honour and renowne, which we shall see, and stories shall tell to after-ages to the honour of that name.

Sir *Peter Kelligrew* returned from *Oxford* on Monday: he made haste in the way, and had little stay there, for all things were accepted that he brought concerning the Treatie; notwithstanding the titles of the new Nobilitie were not used in the conduct, & by King and Parliament the first day of Treatie is agreed to be on Thursday; God be with them, and that is all I can or will say, till I know more in that businesse; I hope well, yet feare still.

We have intelligence from the West, that upon a consultation (or Councel of war) in *Cornwall* called by *Skellum Greenville*, he having a desire to fall suddainly againe upon *Plimouth*, the designe was disliked by Colonell *Champernoone*, having received dishonor by being beating off so lately; at which disuasion *Greenville* grew wroth, and called *Champernoone* Coward and Traytor, saying, *he would hang him*; whereupon *Champernoone* attempted to shoot *Greenville*, but missed. *Greenville* likewise shot at *Champernoone*, and killed him: a brother of Colonell *Champernoons* being present, offered to have shot *Greenville* in his brothers revenge, but his Pistoll not going off, *Greenville* slew him also; he that is borne to be hang'd, shall escape all other deaths: *Greenville* hath a Gallowes ready made, he may take possession shortly; these differences may break *Greenville* neck, and his Armies too.

From

From Sir *William Brerston* is certified, that his Forces having be-
 girt *Beeston-Castle*, the enemy made what strength they could from
Chester; and with a partie of about a 14. or 1200. horse and foot
 march out to relieve the Castle: The besiegers having timely no-
 tice thereof, to prevent their designe, drew out a partie of Horse and
 Foot to encounter the enemy in their march, which was neere the
 number of the enemy: The Horse were commanded by Col. *Jones*,
 the Foot by Major *Louthian*: The enemy likewise having know-
 ledge of their advance, made their best advantage by ambushments
 and lining of hedges, which Coll. *Jones*, and Major *Louthian* with
 much gallantry brake thorow, and valiantly charged the body of the
 enemies strength, and whorly routed them; in which conflict many
 of the enemy fell, and were slaine in the place, and about 200. com-
 mon souldiers were taken prisoners, besides 5. Colonels and Lieute-
 nant-colonels, and 12. other Officers, Captaines, Lieutenants, &c. and
 very few lesse then 200. horse, and at least 250. Armes, and some o-
 ther ammunition; it is a great weakning to the City of *Chester*, and
 encouragement to hope it will be shortly reduced to the obedience
 of the King and Parliament, from which they have fallen.

We had intelligence the end of the last week of an East-India Ship
 carrying a good burden, (and too many Guns to such a purpose) that
 was by the perfidious Master carried into *Bristol*, she was laden with
 goods and treasure to the value of 25. or 30000. pound too good a
 prize for men of so great demerit; I wish it were not true, it is by
 some affirmed, that the Master stands upon his capitulations with the
 Governour of *Bristol*, and will not come into harbour, except hee
 may have assurance of one halfe of the goods and that hee lyes
 off in Kings Road: shee being a lustie Shippe cannot be commanded
 by them.

Other intelligence wee have of Pyrat Ship that is taken in the
Downes, being driven thither by weather; shee was, as is said, a
 ship set out by the Lord *Say and Seale* with Letters of Mart, but the
 Captaine basely ran away with her to the King, and hath ever since
 been a robber, as he was before a rogue; but is now neither, for he was
 honestly hangd presently after he was taken.

From *Alesbury* is certified, that Colonell *Crawford* going out to-
 ward *Thame*; and thereabout, to seek for convenience for Quarter
 for his horse, having with him two Troops containing about 120. or
 a few lesse, as he was returning back discovered a party of horse not
 farre

farre distant, and marched towards them, not knowing what they were, but an enemy he knew it was ; and when the enemy saw him, they marched also against him, and both drew into battalia ; the enemy was also about the same number of horses : when they came neere they fight a while and sent out their forlorn hopes, who presently charg'd each other, and so the bodie's met ; it proved to bee Colonell *Blague* the Governour of *Wallingford*, who had been, or was going toward *Bostock* house ; they charged each with much gallantry, but after two or three charges the enemy was wholly routed, Colonell *Blague* was very sorely wounded, but his horse not lamed, for his heeles did his Matter more service then his own hands, and carryed him away halfe dead ; about 13. or 14. more whose horses were shod, with running had likewise escaped, all the rest were taken or slaine, both horse and men ; yet finding among the prisoners about 14. that were wounded so sore that they were not capable of doing any further hurt, they set them down to walk to their own Chyrurgions, and seek their own cure, all the rest Colonell *Crawford* brought to *Alesbury* : we lost but 3. men.

We have intelligence, that since the breach made in *Pomfret* Castle, that the Lord *Fairefax* hath been there to receive, and to make parlie with the besieged : but their termes being high, and their condition low, the Lord *Fairefax* left them till they come a degree lower, and then they will speake and heare reason ; the besiegers are going on with two mines which likely will doe the work ; the breach, though great, is high, and it is an ascent to the Castle, so that it cannot be approached to make entry at that breach without eminent danger of the lives of many men ; it is better to take time, then lose men.

From the Northern parts we have little newes materiall, the Parliament of *Scotland* now are sitting, and we shall expect some newes from thence shortly ; our Brethren from *New-castle* will have order very speedily to advance, and 6000. horse and Dragoones will advance westward presently, as you will heare : also there will be a considerable strength quartered about *Thame* and the Townes adjacent, besides those that lye within the line from *Farnham* towards *Chichester*, &c.

The Directory of which I have formerly told you that it was finished and past both Houses, is not yet come from *Scotland*, for whether it was sent to be assented to by our Brethren of that Kingdome before

before it be published here, and it will not be long before it returne, and then it will be publike to all; and I doubt not will give satisfaction to all, except to such as resolve not to be satisfied but with the fulfilling their owne wills (or rather lusts.) It is my prayer to God, and my request to all that profess to be Disciples of Christ, to forbear trifles and circumstances, and to cleave to fundamentall and substantiall truths: It was a brave Resolution of a brave Commander when he encouraged all his Souldiers to goe on courageously in the common cause against the common enemy, and not to dispute the differences of niceties among our selves: Christ is not divided, nor is there any more Christs but one, and as he is one, so should all his be; there is but one way to heaven, why then should not all by-ways be barred up in a Christian Church and Commonweale? if the promise be to the righteous (that is, to the beleivers) and to their seed, why is it allowed to be gainstayed? if the Morall Law contained in the Decalogue be of authority for ever by vertue of authority from the Law-giver, J E H O V A H, why is it denyed? and they suffered that teach such doctrine? If *Presbytery* government be most agreeable to the Apostles rule and practice (as indeed it is) why seek we after other governments not congruous thereunto? and why doe we mock God and discover new iniquities to increase greater wrath, by violating our holy Covenant with God and men, to assent to that government and order, as is most agreeable to Gods Word, not to the best reformed Chutches; and in stead thereof not onely seek, but unhappily contend for such government as was never established in any Christian Kingdome: were it not that I rest upon Gods promise, the differences at this day would drive me to despaire of ever seeing peace in *England*, for truly except men will be conscientious for Christ, and bridle their lusts, or the Magistrate courageous to use the sword of Justice, our case to the eye of sense seems dangerous.

The Commissioners for the Treaty went away from *London* on Wednesday in the afternoon to *Uxbridge*, where they meet with the Kings Commissioners, and there all things are provided for their accommodation: God be with them, and work by them a happy, safe, and well-grounded peace; the next day they begin to treat.

There is a common report, that Colonell *Royden* the Governour of *Basing* house is slaine, that he was stab'd at *Oxford* it is generally beleaved, but I yet never heard any authentick author so affirme it, therefore I leave it doubtful.

We had intelligence of the taking of *Sir Anthony Seller* and *Major Hild*, and 30. horse of *Malsbury*: they were going with about 50. horse to make addition to *Hoptons* strength, but were lessened in the way, they shrunk like ill cloth. It is certified that *Hopton* is creeping towards these parts, though it was said he would get to strength near *Greenville*. *Col. Goring* is said to be come with his Forces to *Winchester*. *Plimoth* is yet in a very good condition, and it is Gods great mercy. I pray God there may appeare some care in men towards that place, more then ordinary; they have endured a long brunt, and hot service; they cannot have plenty of any thing, except Gods blessing which hath been wonderfull to them.

The enemy hath beat up one of our quarters at a Towne between *Farnham* and *Winchester*, and hath taken 40. of our men and slaine 5. *Sir William Waller* is to go Westward towards the enemy presently.

There is a good Ship of 400. Tun, laden with Currans, that was bound for the enemies quarters, that is driven on shoare by winds neer *Chichester*, but the people of the countrey have plundered her of much of her lading, she carried 20. peece of Ordnance.

The Houses sate all day on Wednesday, which they never yet did before on any Fast day, there was great occasion in respect of the Treaty, and much debate was about the manner of treating, which proposition should be first finished, or whether all three should go on ther, viz. as to treat two dayes of Religion, two dayes of the Militia, two dayes of the *Irish* affaires and then back to the first, &c.

Some talke there is abroad of the Queens comming over, and some few thousands of men with her to strengthen the Treaty: I beleeve her Majestie desires to treat on such termes rather then of a peace; but I doe not beleeve she is so hasty to come into *England* till she see further, nor yet her thousands of men in *France* if well numbred will be all hundreds; we shall be ready for them at Sea shortly.

From *Beaver-Castle* is certified, that the Governour *Lucas* is put out of his place, and *Sir Guy Palmer* is made Governour by Commission from his Majestie: but upon some words and unwillingnesse observed from *Lucas* to resign, he is for the present prisoner in the Castle: Our enemies can (when God will) fall to difference as well as we; it were well if they did, and we did not, but the advantage they see (and make use of) Our differences keep them in unity: but our enemy would break them in pieces: Some differences are sprung up at this day at *Oxford*, which they seek to smother, but we see the smoake: Something more I should add, but desire excuse in respect of some occasions.

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William Laud Arch-B: of
Canterbury Prymat of England.
was beheaded on Tower-hill Jan: 30th 1634
W.M. sculps

The Life and Death¹⁷

O F

WILLIAM LAWD, late Archbishop
of CANTERBURY:

Behheaded on *Tower-Hill*, Friday the 10. of January.
1644.

- I. *Here is a brief Narration of his Doings all his life long faithfully given-out, First, That his sayings at his Death may not be a snare to the perdition of souls.*
- II. *His Doings and Sayings being compared and weighed together, his Sayings are found infinitely too light; Yet of weight sufficient to presse every man to make a Threesfold use from All, of infinite concernment to his eternall soul.*

By *E.W.* who was acquainted with his Proceedings in Oxford; was an eye and eare witnesse of his *Doings* and *Sayings* in his Courts here at London; and other places under his dominion.

REVEL. 9. 20, 21.

Yet they repented not of the works of their hands: neither of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their Thefts.

PROVERBS 28. 15.

As a roaring Lion, and a ranging Bear; So is a wicked Ruler over the poor people.

*Audacia est super quidam sensus cum malitia voluntatis. Vernl.
Non sapius Phebotomix necessariae sunt in curationibus quam
cades in Civilibus. Ibid.*

Jan: 31th

LONDON:

1644

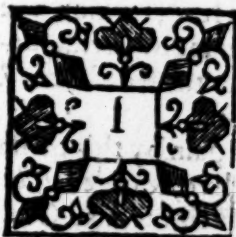
Printed for *Iohn Hancock*; dwelling in Popes-head Alley. 1644.

11





To the Reader.



I t is the manner to adresse a few words to thee at the entrance to a Discourse, which are these; I was an eye-witnesse of this mans *Doings* in his life; and an ear-witnesse of his *sayings* at his Death: yet had I not a thought (for I thought it needlesse) to tell the world what his *Doings* were [no not then when I saw his *sayings* boldly published to the world, to make gaine of money thereby, though with the hazard of souls] till the Day fornight after he suffered Death for the same: On that Day, a worthy Minister, my dear friend, came to me, told me that they who were thought the fittest men for the worke, had no purpose to doe it, (there was a mistake, for the fittest of Many hath done it,) then moved me about it by such arguments as might have commanded me, and so did though not at that time, yet some hours after. Then I girded my self to the service. To give a Breviate of his *Doings* first (The Reader could exp & no other in such scantnesse of time and roome, different from that is extant, as I thought also the time and place did re-

To the Reader.

quire) Of his *saying* after, that his *Doings* and *sayings* being laid together, the one may interpret and explaine the other; And the scriptures of God may warrant the Reader to be judge of both.

I have made hast here, as I was desired to do; and as a man hasteneth to take an *Anti-dote* to expell the poison he hath unadvisedly drunk down. Yet this *hast* is not of that Nature as to cause *Repentance*. But *er ours* it may have caused not a few, which the Author and the Printer, may lovingly divide betwixt them, and be at no losse: For the Reader must take all in good part for these reasons.

(1) Because he may make a great gain by this to his soul: He may learn by this how to live, & order all his *doings* all his life long. How? As the righteous, Gods faithfull servants do; and then he may be sure his *end* shall bee like theirs, and the comfort of his *sayings* then answerable to his *doings*; I have through thy
“ Grace strengthening me, done all Thy *wills*, Lord,
“ I have kept Thy word: Come Lord Jesus, Come
“ quickly, I commend my soul unto Thee; For thou
“ hast Redeemed it, Lord God of Truth.

2. The Reader may be informed hereby touching the *Religion*; we, without mentall Reservations, call *Protestant*, That it is not like our garments still alterable after the fashion of the Times: nor like the *Moon* neither, *now waxing*, and then *waining*, as shee seems to us: But *Religion* is as the *Sun*, a perpetuall and settled Ordinance in heaven.

3. Touching the *warre* about Religion; who they are, who so venture far and freely in this warre: who fight

To the Reader.

fight indeed the *Battells of the Lamb*? Truly Reader, The *old Serpent* the *Devill*, speaking through a *Dying* man, as audibly in the eares of a great People, as once he spake in the eares of our Grand-mother *Eve*, would have beguiled all the Christian world, touching this matter. It was my great Care to undeceive thee at this great Point, to Discover that *Grand Imposture* to thee; which I have done, but not indeed so fully as I would and could: but yet faithfully, not daring for my life, to doe otherwise; in a matter, which did so highly concerne The *High God*, His *Christ*, His *Church*, and His *Parliament*, now fighting the *Lords Battells* against the *Dragon*, and His *Angells*. Indeed the Scripture calls the Adversary and enemy now, not the *Dragon*, but the *Beast*; And hee would seem the tameest of Beasts, a *Lamb*; and make the world beleive he would, That hee fights the *Lords Battells* *veniers* as *farre* and as *freely* for the *Religion* and *Faith* of *Christ*, as any in all the world.

Now what see wee? For wee may behold now as *Saint John* did in a vision; A *Beast like a Lamb*: But Rev. 13.
12. how spake he? he spake as a *Dragon*.

How asteth hee? As a *Dragon* wee may be sure. And it is as manifest before our eyes, by his *Doings* and *Sayings*; That, though he be a *Lamb* in shew, he is a *Dragon* indeed; for *Dragons Deeds* are never softer then are his *words*.

And hence, Reader: Thou art taught a great Lesson; Not To trust the *Dragon*, though in shew like a *Lamb*, and may speak like a *Lamb*. So he may speak for advantage, that hee may Act anon like a *Dragon*.

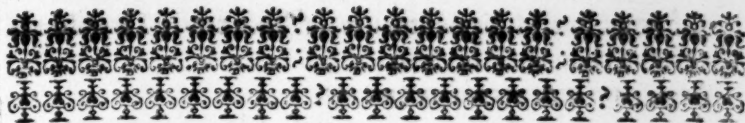
Doc

To the Reader.

Do thou as all the faithfull servants in the world
doe now, They send their Embassadour to heaven,
their prayers thither, through the Mediation of thir
Great and only Friend, to *make p ace*; that is the
peace they breath-after, Peace and Holinesse, Peace
and Righteousnesse, Truth and Peace; They hearken
not what the Dragon saith, nor what the *Beast* saith,
Psal. nor what the *Lamb* saith, which is but *like a Lamb*; they
hearken what their Lord saith. *for He speakes Peace. A*
Peace of their *Freinds* making, and their Gods giving.
Surely their expectation, is from God, a peace of his
speaking & giving. And in the world they expect trou-
ble, and with the Dragon War, while he and the Saints
are together in the world. These things the Lord
hath spoken, That (which makes amends for all the
Dragon can doe or say) in *Mee yee might have Peace*;
In the world ye shall have *Tribulation*: But bee of good
Isa. 16. 2. cheer, *I have overcome the world.* So saith the faithfull
and true witnesse, The *Amen*.



T H E



The Life and Death of VVilliam Lawd,
late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury;
Briefly related.



Will begin in order, with his Life first, and his Death after: He set down faithfully, and as narrowly as I can, his *Doings* all his life long, and his *Sayings* at his death. And this I shall do for two reasons. (1) That every man, who will, may see, That his *Deeds* and his *Words*, do stand at an eternall Distance; and can possibly be reconciled no more than Life and Death can. (2) That he who has read his Death, his Funerall Sermon there (A meer mockery of God, and good men; the Religion of God, and Reformation of men, a meer scorn to all these:) And findes it a snare to his *Perdition*; for he blesteth the man, and His *fare-well* to the world; May also read his *life*, and consider well on it, lest rising early and *blessing his friend*, because of some light expressions which fell from his mouth at his Death, it proves a snare to his soul now, and it be counted a curse Prov. 23. unto him hereafter.

I know I shall be envied for this, I know not of how many.

The Life and Death of William Laud,

Of none but Malignants sure, whose envie I would rather have than their favour.

Some good men may blame me too.

I cannot believe that; They will blame them rather, who were so bold; To tell all the world, what he said at the point of his departure out of the World, thereby to argue his *piety* towards God, and his *Righteousnesse* towards men: And hold the world in ignorance of all he did all his *life* long, which argued him a *mighty sinner*, before the Lord, as was the unjust Judge, who neither feared God nor revered man.

1, but I shall be judged very uncharitable now, and censorious of a dying mans words.

A short Apologie for this:

1 I appeal to God, that, I think, I looked with as pitti-
full an eye upon his departing soul, as the best friend he
had upon the Scaffold.

2 That I shall not judge him, or his dying words; No,
I would have the Reader to leave that to God; I would
help the Reader, well to understand, what he *said* at his
death, by what he *did* all his life long.

3 To undeceive the ignorant at this high point, That
they may not think to live as he did, and so to die, with-
out making any confession at all; or the least show of *Re-
pentance*, so *giving Glory to God*; and yet die in the Lord,
the death of the Righteous: For these Reasons I have
written the History of his Life, which I shall pen-up
into the narrowest compasse, for two reasons also.

1 That the common Reader may be at as little cost of
time and purse, in reading the History of his Life, as he
he was at, for reading his Death.

2 Because all the proceedings throughout his whole
Arraig-

Arraignment, and in Reference to that *Crime* he pleaded, even to his last, *not Guilty*, shall be clearly and fully set down, to the fullest satisfaction of all the world, even those, that are the most prejudiced Readers.

The History of his Life begins from that time 1608. whereof I can write what my eyes saw, and what my ears heard concerning him, five years after he was *Proctor* of the Vniversity in Oxford, which was in the same year King *James* came to the Crown of England, 1603. Quickly after, and to make the more haste, he went out Doctor of the *Civill Law*, and was chosen President over the Colledge called *Saint Johns*; I may mistake somewhat in the Account of this time; because I was then yong, and carelesse to remember it; and came my selfe in that year unto the same Vniversitie, and to the Colledge, at that time, next adjoyning to his Colledge; I shall note here as an eye, and an ear witnesse: First,

I. That he, Doctor *Laud* then, Arch-Bishop at last, and Doctor *Howson*; afterward Bishop of Durham, did, as their turnes were to preach in *Saint Maries Church*, and *Christ-Church*, there scatter the seeds of evill Doctrines; for the suppression whereof, and keeping them from taking root, Doctor *Abbots* both, and other eminent Divines bestirred themselves, and appeared the very next Lords day in opposition to those Doctrines, whereunto they would not give place for an hour. He went on, and declared to all the Christian world:

1. His zeale to *Formes* of Religion, and envy to the Power.

2. His love and liking to the *Shadowes*; and hatred to the *Substance*;

3. His approbation of *Pictures* and *Images*, even that abomination,

abomination, the picture of God the Father, and furious rage against the Image of God, stamped upon, and framed in His holy-ones.

4. His zeale to builde and beautifie dead Temples made with hands: and even mad with rage, against the Temples of the Holy Ghost, to deface, spoile, and destroy those living temples.

Zeantes. 5. His zeale *seething hot*, against the Lord, and His Day, His pure worship and worshippers, His zeale against all these: and for all detestable things, Crosses, Crucifixes, and Altars, all which the soule of the Lord does hate; and yet we know his zeale for all these was notorious all over the Christian world;

Ezech.

II. All men, that know him, & observed his maner will witnes with me, that he *labourd* to be accepted of great men, able to lift him up in the world, as earnestly, as *Paul laboured* to be accepted of the Lord; & *Pauls labour* was, as his and other his Bishops was, to ascend unto the highest Pinacle of honour: O with what earnestnesse did he embrace the world; And what *havock* he made of faith and a good conscience all the world knowes. But you will say; this might not be so; he might serve his owne ends, and as he said, at his death, *Serve God too*; seek himselfe first, and Gods glory at last. No, not possible; *No man can serve two Masters*; *Cardinall Wolsey* speakes sadly to this; "O that I had served God, as I served my King, then God had not left me, as now he has, said the Cardinall when he was departing the world. This serving the creature more than the Creator; If it might be charged upon any man in the world, it might be charged upon this Man. And this also, *Minding earthly things*, Honour from men, and Glory from the world. We cannot minde earthly things heartily, and

2 Cor. 9 5

Rom 2.

Psal 3. 12

and heavenly things too, no more then we can give forth the *Male of our flock*, the strength of our affections to two masters: *Nor can we beleeve when wee receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God onely.* These Scriptures well thought-on would stop us in our eager pursuite after the World; or tell our selves what we are. The *Male of our flock*, the first borne, or strength of our Affections can be given but to one Master. *Love of the present world*, argues an heart, *forsaking* the Communion of Saints, and carelesse of future Glory: I proceed, His labour was to be *accepted* of man, and of man he was *accepted*, and advanced (after some length of time, which I must step over, his rising by degrees from one Bishopricke to another) till, at length, he had *Clambered* up to the pinnacle hee aspired unto, and there sate down in his Throne, as one of his flatterers calls it, Arch-Bishop of Camerbury. Then he was supream Judge in the *High-Commission Court*, and, next to the Supream in the *Star-Chamber*. I speak now as an eye and ear witnesse: But what am I or my witnesse?

God, Angels, and men, I know not how many thousands, to whom he directed his dying words, will witnesse with me: That now, having the power in his hand, he did execute it to the largest extent thereof, turning judgement into wormewood, and *Righteousnesse* into gall; grinding the faces of the Righteous; perverting the wholesome lawes of the Kingdome: *forcing* the Judges (they should rather have suffered the extreamest injuries from *Great men*, that to be so injurious to *mean* men, as to suffer themselves to do as he commanded, and would have done) to pervert Judgement, and Justice, which, being kept unto, and executed according to Gods commands, sets the crowne

crowne fast upon the Kings head, and establisheth the
 Throne (in Righteousnesse) : Indeed now hee was *strong*,
 his heart was *lifted up*, and his *minde hardened in pride*,
whome he would he slew, & whom he would he kept alive, whom
he would, he set up; and whom he would he put down : His will
 stood for a *Law*; and his will was to breake through the
 Lawes of God, and man; and such power he had, he could
 do it, as easily as through a spiders Webbe: So he brake
 through the Lawes of God; The law of his worship, The
 Law of His *Day*, there he began, with the House of God,
 profaning that *House* : Then with His Worship, defiling
 that; Then with his day, setting his foot thereon: It is not
 utterable how he *marred the Lords Day* more *than any day*.
 In brief; He offered violence to the *Law*, and Gospel, and
 was mad with rage, against those, that used the *Law law-*
fully; and preached the Gospel, as the Gospel of Christ,
 &c. For I forbear, in matters, so notoriously knowne,
 how he oppressed the Gospellers, (*i.e.*) The true worship-
 pers of God. Indeed had hee had an *Arme like God* (he
 thought he had) he had not left one Faithfull Minister in
 in all three Kingdomes. But the Lord had him, as he has
 the Devill, in Chaines. Thus he dealt with the *Lawes*
and ordinances of God; and those that were zealous for
 them. Ineed not say how *Imperiously* hee dealt with the
 Lawes of men, yet sith I have undertaken to tell what his
doings were, I must proceede with the same brevity, say-
 ing this onely, and concluding all in it, *That his will was*
Law; What he had a Will to do, he did, if God restrain-
 ed him not. (Oh) how favourable was he to evil men!
 How fierce against the Good! These men, good men I
 mean (The evil men, the Blasphemers, who had *pierced and*
torne the Name of God by execrable Oathes: And *vile*
Treache-

Treacherous Priests, who, by their lewdnesse made the Sacrifices of the Lord to be abhorred, these men I have seen tried before his Court, and quitted: But the good and pretious, these were delivered, as their Lord and Master was, *to their Will*: So these, *To his Will*, not to the Justice of the Law, but to the Injustice, and Rigour of his Will: And how his wil was to deale with them, is notorious through all the Christian World: For aske from one end of his Courts to the other, of all the Standers-by there, whether he has suffered any Sentence to passe, which *crossed his Will*, though never so agreeable to Gods will, mans Law, and right Reason. Time would faile me, to tell what he did and spake, against the soules of the Righteous: to whom he said, *Bow downe, that we may goe over*: And, by the Power in his hand, he *bowed down the Bodies, of the Saints*, and *laid them as the ground, and as the street to them that went over*. All this, and much more, his hand and tongue have made so legible, That he who runnes may read it, what *havock* he made in the Churches of God; how he *breathed forth threatnings*, reached forth the hand of Violence, against those, who protested against his *mateing* of Gods Worship, with his *Follies*, setting up his *Thresholds* by the *Lords Threshold*, as the Lord himselfe is pleased to expresse that horrible impiety, of joyning mans Traditions with His Worship, whereby *the place of My Throne*, (saith the Lord) and *the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of my people for ever*; and My Name have been Defiled: And, Because of which abominations, I have consumed my people in my Anger as it is at this Day. To summe-up all in two words, he set his foot upon the Lawes of God, and Mans Lawes; These were in his hand like *Giffes knots*, fast or loose at his pleasure;

Luk. 23. 25

Esay. 51.
23.Adhibendo
traditiones suas
adpraeccepta
mea.
Trem.
Eze. 43. 8

The life and death of William Lawd,

He exalted and magnified himselfe above every god : and according to his Will, to things must be. And he thought, he might adventure upon the Holy lawes too, for hee spake marvellous things against the God of gods, magnifying himselfe above all, and prospering till the time of indignation was (almost) accomplished : He polluted the Sanctuary of strength ; and, almost took away, that which was called the daily Sacrifice, wee call Praying and preaching ; And in the place thereof, he placed the Abomination, that maketh Desolate. These were his Actings, or Doings, in the Kingdomes of God, against the Gospell of God ; The Name of God ; The House and Household of God ; The Lawes of God there, and all the known Lawes of all three Kingdomes.

How he walked in his own House, how crosse to his Rule after the manner of Bishops, but most unlike a Bishop indeed, and to their course, *whose praise is in the Gospell*: All this had been fully declared unto him (by one, who in former time lived in the house with him) two dayes before his Death : But that servant of the Lord, with two more, who, in a dear affection to his departing soul, went to visit him, could not bee admitted ; Dr. Heywood, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Stern, were the men, with whom he craved leave to advise : For they would *absolve him* after their manner, and *like to like*, he would admit of no other. But had the three, the *faithfull of the Lord*, been admitted to his presence, he had been then told in meeknesse of spirit, how he starved his household, commanded prayers for the Dead, had the picture of God the Father, in his House. Indeed his horrible impieties, iniquities, blasphemies, might have been in part sweetly opened before him, by those, who thirsted after his Repentings but he would not be trou-

troubled. And indeed it seemed to be a trouble in vain, for he had gone against his light so long, that now he was as a man in a Dungeon: And he had forced his conscience so often, that surely now he had no conscience at all: Or if any in his sense, then scared, and past feeling in ours. All this appeared at the hour of his suffering for his horrible sins; which he should have confessed there before all the people, so giving *Glory to God*, and taking *shame* to himself: But he did contrary, he took *Glory* to himself, even of *Martyrdome* (which turned to his greater shame:) and rising now, when he was falling into the pit, himself had digged, to the height of *arrogancie*, *impudencie*, &c: He laid the shame upon the *Worthies* of the Lord, whom he calls, the *people*, that he might call them *Egyptians*; and might be believed, That the people hurried him into the Red Sea of blood, as once the Egyptians did, the Israel of God. But I prevent my self; I have concluded too briefly, the History of his Life, what his *Doings* were all along.

Now I come to his *sayings* at the houre of his Death, which every man has heard, or read; and some are insnared by it to the *perdition of their soule*: Simple men indeed and very ignorant, who can be taken with such *sayings*, which argue nothing but *impudencie* and *arrogancie*, with *eyes*, and *ears*, and an *heart* shut-up, and a conscience *scared*; all which will appear presently, through-out his whole *Speech*, when wee have pondered it in our own hearts. But I must tell you, as my ears told me, what the simple and ignorant people said, at the hearing of his words; and satisfie them, if I can; They say,

A. (1) They will believe, a Dying man, addressing himselfe to give-up his Account to God; He will be serious

now ; and lay-open his conscience before the world, which he must open presently before the Lord God Almighty.

B. (1) Probable so, and but probable ; for certain it is, some men, not serious, have died, as he died, with an horrible lye on his tongue ; It is a serious thing to die ; for then the soul launcheth forth into the Ocean of Eternity ; and, if the *thread* of life be cut off in wrath, life runnes forth into an everlasting *bottomless*, there to abide under Wrath for ever : And yet all men are not serious at the point of death ; Nor could this man be so, who all his life long, was serious in this, *how he might cast dishonors upon God and good men* : And secondly,

(2) For his conscience, we heard what that was, *past-feeling*. But let this be remembred too. (1) That it is the manner of a stout and proud sinner, (such was he) so to tender his honour with men, and his *name* (that it may not Rot, and be left to posteritie for a curse) as to justifie himself to the death ; that men may not say he died *as a foole dies* : Though now so they will say indeed, And so I could retort his own words he spake to another purpose *veniunt Romani*, for that, which he feared, and would have prevented, is come upon him. (2) That it is the glory of the Divell, to hold fast and full possession of a man, to the last period of his time, and render his faithfull servant, as he can himselfe, a seeming *Angell of light at his Death* ; Such like proud sinners were *Becket* an Arch-Bishop, or rather, as this was, an Arch-Traitor ; And *Garnet*, an Arch-Traitor too, against God and His King, for he was a *Jesuit*.

A. (2) It is said ; The man is *fallen now to his own Master* ; let the Dead alone, and his words die with him.

B. It

B. It were more than *injustice* so to do, it were *impiety*: To let such words die, which *fret* and *corrupt* like a *Gangrene*. Besides, it is impossible; for as our *doings*, are as *seeds* cast into the ground, which *dye* not there, but to *live* again, and we must look upon them, and these look us in the face in after time: So our *Actions* or *doings*, and so our *words* or *sayings* also, these cannot *dye*; specially not the words of a *Dying* man; his *Death* gives them life, so as they have the *quickest* touch upon the *Ear*, and the more quickening power in the heart, because, he that now *speakes*, shall *speak* no more for ever.

And this the *Dying man* knew very well, and, accordingly, had prepared himself, probably more at that time to *preach*, after his manner, than to die. I was an eye-witnesse how effectually, That dying mans Sermon, as we call it, wrought upon the hearers; who counted themselves *Discreet* men: But sure I am, in such a concourse of people, the greatest number are not so *discreet*: And for their sakes, as I have set down his *Doings*, so shall I his *sayings*, that the Reader, with me, may ponder them together, and may not be deceived in a matter of so high concernment, relating to an eternall condition, either of *happinesse*, or *woe* for ever. I know some looked upon upon him, as the saddest object that ever they beheld. And truly, I think, my selfe was one; And some looked him, as an *humble penitent*, for no other reason, but because he said so; and so they were infinitely mistaken, as will appear by and by.

These things premised, I come to his speech, which some mis-call, a sermon; Call it so if they will, a *Bishops sermon*, Such as I have ordinarily heard at the Court, not a word to the Text, but after the old manner turning head

*Sed male cum
recitas
incipit
essetis.
Mart.
Amos.*

upon the Scriptures of God. This strikes terrour to the hearts of *Court-Parasites*, Preachers I must not call them, whose manner is to chuse a Text, and then abuse it fearefully, as this Arch-Bishop did at Court, I know not how often. But looke upon his *Text*, (now it is his *Text*) and his *Pulpit*, and the Preacher too, and with all these, Remember, O thou *Amaziah*, thou living man, who hast taught thy mouth to flatter, and Blaspheme: so did this Arch-Bishop at the Court. And so he did upon the Scaffold, taking this Text of Scripture. *Heb. 12. 1, 2.* And making it a Paralel that the stander-by might beleeve, that hee had the same ground of comfort, his *Lord-Christ* had, in *induring the Crosse*, and might, as his Lord did, *despise the shame*, for the joy was set before him. An horrible prelupcion! The like cannot be paraleld in any story. Proceeded to the context: *Iesus despised the shame for me: God forbid but I should despise the shame for Him: For him!* Reade his life, he was put to that *open shame*, and yet not *shame* enough for his horrible sinnes, *impieties*, and *iniquities*, and *Blasphemies*, against God, and good men. Notwithstanding read his confidence, *My God whom I serve.* It was *Pauls* confidence upon the great waters, that the mighty flood should not hurt him. It was this mans confidence also in appearance, That he should be delivered from this *sea of blood*, (wherinto he hurried himselfe) for *God is his God*, and *Him he served*, saies he. Reader, that you may not be mistaken, read his life now, and how he served God: Then enquire of every man you meet, whether he can tell you any piece of good service, which he did to God or his Church, all his life time: *What services he did every man can tell.* Reader, though I passion, yet stay thou upon these words, *My God, whom I serve*

*p. 20.
l. 12.*

serve. These will be thy *Stay* and thy *Staffe*, when thou art falling into thy grave, and addressing thy self to make thy appearance before the judge of all the world; These words will bear up thy Fainting spirit then, as upon the wings of an Eagle: else nothing can do it. But then thou must look to this, as thou doest regard thine immortal soule, That thou doest speake-out these words, hartily, intirely, and indeed; when thou sayest, *My God*, then thou canst say, *Whom I serve*, If that followes not, no comfort followes. But if thou canst say, *Whom I serve* indeed, then maist thou say, *My God* indeed; else not; *My God*, and *My service* to him, must go together. He tells us in the next place, of the *Imaginations*, which the people *line 16.* are setting up. Then the people do as he and such blinde guides taught them the way, to worship God after the *imaginations of their owne hearts.* Then he tells us of following *line 18.* the Bleating of Jeroboams Calves. An horrible Blasphemy: But a very fit *Paralel*: for of no Arch-Bishop, it may bee said so truly as of him, That hee, as *Jeroboam*, set up a *Calvish worship*, and made all Israel to sin. In the same page he acknowledgeth himsele a *grievous sinner* *line 24.* many waies; and this he does, in all humility.

All humility! There is no humility at all. Where are the Actings of an humble spirit? Where are the Breakings of his heart, with sorrow? Where is he condemning, judging, *loathing* himsele, for all his abominations? Where are his *thirstings* after God! Reader, beleeve the Word of God, and what His Faithfull servants have said touching this, which he calls, *all humility*; where *all humility* is, there is all this forementioned; where there is none of this, there is no humility, none at all. No, hee made an acknowledgment of his sins in *all the pride of his heart*,
not

not as a *poore penitent*, as he calles himselfe, but as a proud impenitent person, who had an heart that could not, nay would not repent. Reader, I speak this for thy profit, therfore before I passe on I must bespeak thee again, and I do charge thee before the living God, and as thou dost tender thine immortall Soul, read over those words again, which I have said, rather the mouth of God saith in Reference to his acknowledgement *in all humility*; And adde thereunto; That where humility is, there all known sins are Confessed, distinctly humbled for, and repented of bitterly, bitterly; Where there is *all humility*, sin will be as bitter hearbes indeed, *bitter* in the mouth, and *bitter* in the soul; A man *all* humbled, tastes sin now, as the *Gall of Aspes*, which was before as *sugar under the tongue*; and whereas he gloried in his shame before, now he *loaths* himselfe for that shame. What thiukest thou now of the Bishops acknowledgement of his sin, *in all humility*? Consider well on it, and make answer here as before God, and as thou regardest thine immortall Soule. Now proceed, and heare what he saies; *I have upon this sad occasion, ransackt every Corner of mine heart, and yet, I thanke God, I have not found any sins there, deserving Death by any knowne lawes of this Kingdome.*

p. 8 bot-
tome, and
top of p 9

These Lawes are not so well knowne to us: But this wee know, understanding in our Measure the Law of our God, That this man was put to death, by as *knowne Laaw*, as all Judah put *Mattan*, *Baals Priest* to death, who was the Queenes Favorite, in all probability pri vy to her Councells, and had his hands and his head acting and contriving all her Murthers, and severall Practices against the Peeres and Princes of Judah; and plotting with her Her, at that time, how to divolve the

2 Chron.
23. 17.

the Crowne of Judah to Israel, that the *Light of Judah* might be quite extinct ; All this is more than probable, But certaine it was, This Priest was, heart and Hand, for *Ahab had his house*, and the cursed *waies* thereof, and hee had scattered his wayes, His horrible Idolatreis, as he could, from Corner to Corner: By the same *known Law*, that this *Mattan* was put to Death, this Archbishop, was put to Death. And the Law we read Full out, Deut. 13. As for the *knowne Lawes* of the Kingdome, we leave it to them, that know them better than we do ; and are preparing to give the World a full and ample Satisfaction: It is abundantly sufficiently for us to know the Law of our God touching that matter. Read on, in the same Page, where he saith; *though the Sentence lyeth heavy upon me,* yet *I am as quiet within, as I ever was in my life.*

f. 9. l. 9.

I did not beleeve him, though yet it might be so; For his heart was as *Nabals* was, a *Stone*; And the Devill, like a *Strong-man*, held his Habitation there till the last: and there we read all *things are at peace*, bnt it is a cursed peace. If he had lifted up his voice; and cryed for the *Spirit* of Christ to come in unto him, to *convince* him of his finnes, to set them in order before his eyes (in a way of mercy) then there had been *trouble*, and a blessed trouble, though no rest had been to his flesh, nor quiet to his spirit because of his finnes. Certian it is, when Christ, by His Spirit, commeth into the Soule, *Trouble* will be there, as was, when he was born *King of the Jewes*, then *Herod was troubled* and all *Ierusalem* with him. The point is, The spirit of God *convinceth* of sin first, and so causeth *trouble*, before He *convinceth* of *Righteousnesse*, so causing *Quiet, Rest, and Peace*. I see my papers fill apace, I will hasten, yet we will examine his comfort in the next

words. An empty one God knowes, *That other Bishops were* (hanged, and) *beheaded* (too) *before him*; That is true enough; and yet not half so many suffered that most shamefull death, as deserve d the same; We hope his *Brethren in iniquity*, shall have their deservings anon. But he did almost as presumptuously, as he had done in the choise of his Text, to make *John* the Baptist, and Saint Cyprian (no Archbishop) and the first Martyr Saint Stephen, Saint James too, Saint Paul also, all these *parallels* now, comparing them with himself. That *he doth not*, he P. 10. l. 1 sayes, *and God forbid he should*, so he sayes also, he will raise a comfort to himselfe from those *great Saints, and servants of God, who were laid up in their severall times, as he must be*; that is his comfort. But now let the living man know, for the time is passed with him; That, if he look for comfort from these mens sufferings at his death, then he must suffer for the same cause (*the cause makes the Martyr*:) and his life must be as theirs was, and that is matter of comfort indeed: for they were all for God, His House, and His Household, and the Lawes thereof: This man was full set, and his hand, and heart full bent against all these, God, and Gods House, and Household, and Lawes there.

In the same Page we may reade his mutterings against the Honourable Assemblies in Parliament now, *That they will bring-in the Romans* (i. e.) *Romish Religion, by the same* P. 10. l. 20 *meanes they seek to root it out.*

Well, I like the proceedings so much the better, because such a man as he, the worst of a thousand, hath scandalized the proceedings thereof, casting such shame thereupon: They go a clean crosse way to him, I hope, Blessed be God for that, As he to root-in Popery; so they to root-it-out. And *veniant Romani*, let all the Papists in the

the world; joyn hearts and hands, as now they do, to set up Popery again; they shall not prevail; so long as all the Assemblies do go, as we hope they do, clean crosse to this mans way, a'l his life long: For that is to go strait and leuell, to the Glory of God; and advancing His Truths, and Ordinances in their purity.

I must not passe over that, which he deferred till afterwards; *I but, perhaps, a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery.* Perhaps: It was as sure, as he came upon the scaffold to be cut a sunder. And yet sayes he, *ye know, that the Pharisees said against Christ himself, If ye let him alone the Romans will come, &c.* And so he makes application, as was pointed at before: So as indeed, every word there is pointed with a blasphemie. But for that, which he said was clamoured against him, that he would have brought in Popery, hereto, he said, *I shall answer more fully by and by.* He should have answered to that, at that point of time, he should have cleared himself of that Crime before he spake so largely of the King, That, upon his conscience he is as free from labouring to bring in Popery as any man living: And as sound a Protestant he held him to be, as any man in his Kingdome: and would venture his life as farre and as freely for (the) Religion, (he calles Protestant.) p. 1018.

Thus dishonourably he spake of his Lord and Master; I say again, dishonourably; It is a mighty dishonour to his Master for 3 Reasons. (1) Because, as it is an honour indeed to be honoured by a person, that is honourable indeed: So is it a dishonour indeed, to be honoured by a person infamous indeed. (2) Because it will be so judged by all men, That he who justifieth himself and his own wicked way, will not condemn another, driving on in the same way, but commend it rather. (3) And this will

2. Sam.
23.2.

p. 11. 16.

argue, That he has spoken dishonourably indeed, Because hitherto all (the *miscarriages* or *misgovernments* in the Kingdome, have been charged upon the *Kings Counsellors*, not upon the King: God forbid it; He *that ruleth over men must be just*, ruling in the fear of God. They are his *Counsellors*, who have counselled the King to do wickedly, to his own destruction, To bring in *Poperie*; To fight against the Holy Citie: The Counsellors have perswaded all this; and what is done against the very minde and end wherefore God made him King, they have done it; And so we blessed our selves, and our King, a good King, but his Counsellors are all naught; But now, the chief of his *Counsellors* quits himself here before God, Angels, and men, and affirmeth (so may all his other Counsellors as truly, even the worst of them all) under the ear and eye of heaven, That he had never a *thought* or *Will* to bring in *Poperie*: and then he would never perswade the King unto it. What shall we say to this? As sure as the *Daughter of a strange god*, is brought into the Land: so sure *Poperie* is brought-in. As sure, as the Irish are brought into the Land: so sure *Poperie* is brought-in. As sure, as *Romish Priests* are in Oxford: so sure *Poperie* is there. As sure as the Lord Christ is in Heaven: so sure, the *Cannons-mouth* is levelled against the very place, where His *Heart* dwels on earth; and the sword is pointed against the very *Apple of His eye*, and yet the King is as *sound a Protestant* as any in the Kingdome, and will venture his life for Christ and His Cause, as farre and as freely, as any man whosoever. Well, I wish heartily, That any man but an Arch-Traitour, or Rebelle, like himself, had spoken this. But sith, an Arch-Bishop hath spoken thus, putting all off from himself, the Kings chief Counsellor; and freeing the King also upon
his

his conscience, of which he was going to give God a present p. 11. l. 1.
Account; and this heaue Charge must be charged somewhere; either upon the *King*, or his *Counsellor*; For *Poperie* is brought-in, that is certain. And there is a generation of men Risen-up in the Sun light, who fight with God now, as if they had an *Arm like Him*; This is cleer also, as the Sun when it shineth in his strength. But the Kings Counsellor clears himselfe and the King his Master of all this: And we have none else to charge but the Pope; who is all one with all the *Papists* in the world, which joyn themselves with the Kings counsell now: And though they may differ in many things, yet they are faithfull to the *Diuell*, and made friends amongst themselves in the main; the carying-on the designe against the Lord Christ, and His Holy ones.

But do we well consider what a piece of Scripture we have read here from the mouth or pen of this dying man: Surely the *Debts* and *Wiles*, the *Deuices* of Satan were in this man, and vented themselves at his tongues ende; Now his *Memorie* serves him very well, to do by the helpe of the *Deuill*, such a peece of service for his *Side* and *Partie*, as a greater has not been done, since the *Warre* began; nor is it Imaginable how a greater service Can be done, to encourage the contrary party in their *Cursed way*: and to advance their *Cursed work*. For Gods sake and his Churches cause observe what he sayes;

1. *Poperie* is brought into the Land: so we say, and, God Angels and men will witnesse to what we say. But what saies he? That neither the King nor his Counsel, have ever endeavoured, the bringing in of *Poperie*.

2 The Religion of God, which we, without any men-
 all reservations, Call *Protestants*, is protested against, and

persecuted with fire & sword in both hands, as God knows; and all His most faithfull servants see, and feeble: And yet the King and his Counsellors, are all, every one, as *Sound Protestants* as any men in the Kingdome.

3. The Bulle and the Speare are pointed now against the very Appel of Christs eye, as every man sees, that will see: And yet, The King and his Counsellours do beare so strong an affection to Religion by Law established; that they will venture their lives as farre, and as freely for it, as any men in all three Kingdomes. Where then shall these impieties and horrible iniquities be charged? There is no remedy, upon the parliament sure; (1.) That they have brought in Popery; [By throwing down Idolatrie; and casting out those Idol services, which the Bishops had brought in; and so have given the Pope fair hopes, of an harvest in England shortly.] (2.) That they are *unsound Protestants*. [Why? Truly I cannot tell, unlesse; because they have avouched the Lord this Day to be their God, and to walke in His waies: and to heare his voice: And the Lord hath avouched them to be His peculiar people; therefore, *unsound protestants* they, and there is all the reason that I can give, or the adversary either.] (3.) They will not venter their lives so far and so freely for Gods Cause, as the King and his Counsellours will. [Now the Lord God of gods be judge here, and shew whether of these two parties, He hath chosen to fight his Battels.] Amen. But these words shall not passe so; Though I may not handle them as I would, I will handle them as I may; after this manner: Sith the Counsellor has discharged the King in all the three particulars fore-mentioned, I will charge the Counsellor with them all three. And because the chief among them is gone to his owne place, the burden of the Charge shall lie still upon

upon those, of the same Conspiracy with him (who will say as much for them-selves as he did) against the peace of their King, and the Lords Kingdomes; The first charge is. *That, this late Archbishop sought, by all meanes to bring in Popery; And brought it in (what was not in before). Our Allegations and proofs, are upon everlasting records; there let them remaine; I will allege onely, that which was in every mans eye; He has thrust at those, and thrust-them-out of their places and out of the Kingdome, who set themselves against the bringing-in of Popery; Is Therefore, thrusting-out these Seruants of the Lord, he en-deauoured to bring-Popery-in: Nay, he did not onely indeavour but brought in Popery; A strang-worship into the Church; Therefore plain poperie in thither. Hee brought altars into the church, plaine Poperie. That also: He bended and cringed before Wood and stone, The grossest Popery that; And yet he said, perhaps men have clamoured against me, " That I would have brought in " Popery, They do not clamour, they will affirm it till they dye; And, which must needs follow. (2.) That he was not so sound a Protestant as any man living: for some protestants there are, who are sound indeed, and understand the word, as it is generally understood without any mental reservations, as, we thinke he did not: And have better evidence for their Religion, than that they were borne and baptized in the Church of England, which was all the evidence the man brought, that he was a Protestant, in his sence: and so he might be, a papist in ours: A sound! What Truly I cannot tell; Not Protestant here, nor as the Lutherans understand protestants; much lesse as we understand the word; but as unsound according to the Religion by (Gods) Law established, as any man in this Kingdom; I do not except any now of the Kings Councell now, the stinke of*

of whole *Camp* (for now they are engaged in a warre against the Lord Christ) is come up even to their owne Nostrils : and hath cast a *filthy savour* over all the Churches of God, spread over the face of the whole Earth. *Sound* Protestants they ! No; sound Athiests, and Papists they, enemies and Adversaries to all Righteousnesse. It will be manifest thorowout the next particular of the charge.

3. Doubtlesse he would make the world beleeve that he also would venture his *Life as farre and as freely* for the *Protestant Religion as the King would doe* : We may beleeve him with some *Reservation*, what they were I guess, and may in part examine anon) who Huried the King into a warre against the Kingdomes of Christ, that hee might sheath his sword in his Subjects bowels. Hee and and his fellow Counsellours *venter their lives as far and as freely for Religion* ! It is for the Pagan or Popish Religion, then, an Abominable Religion: for under the heavens of God never were there found such enemies, such fighters against God, and Religion by (Gods) *Law established*, as these Counsellours are who have adventured *farre and freely* indeed their honours their Estates, their lives, their soules; I, and the life of their lives, their God, His favour, His protection; they venter *farre and freely* indeed, their God and all, for a *Religion* by (their own) *law established*. And yet sayes he, he and his fellowes *will venter as farre and as freely* for Religion (he would make us beleeve) *by Gods Law established, as any men in this Kingdome*. So he sayes, And so they doe : And so the Devill and his Angels will say, and doe too : and so they did, just as they doe now, the *Dragon and his Angels* fought with *Michael and His Angels*, Revelation : 12. So
farre

farre and as freely these Counsellours venter themselves. Here is now the third particular of the charge, charged, as indeed it ought to be, upon the *wicked Counsellors* who are at this Day to the King their Master, as *Athaliah*, and the house of *Ahab* were to that unhappy King *Ahaziah*; she *his Counsellour to do wickedly*: They his Counsellours *to his destruction*. And yet let my soul abhor to deal unfaithfully with God, and His King, against the good word and minde of God, and the knowledge He has beene pleased to communicate unto His poor servant, therein, which is this, That the Lord God chargeth all the Bloodshed in a Kingdom that which is openly shed, & with both hands, or with an *high Hand* before all Israel and before the Sunne, all this the Lord chargeth) upon the King, He has set over that Kingdome: So doth he all *Abominable Idolatries* committed before the eyes of His Holinesse, and under the looke of the King; all these, that *Bloodshed*, and these *Idolatries*, The Lord of lords, and God of gods chargeth upon the King, though wicked men were his *Counsellors*, to doe wickedly against God, and His poore People.

Now I proceed in the same Page, and to Page following, where first we read his blessing upon this *great and Populous City*, God blesse it said he. Amen; And blessed be His name He doth Blesse it, in all the Peoples fight; And His Blessings are the more conspicuously *visible* upon the City, the more *Audible*, the Adversaries curses are against the Prosperity of the same: For indeed all that this Bishop did in the time of his reigne, and all his fellow Counsellours do now, was and is to bring down a curse upon the City: certainly their zeal is so fiery against the prosperity of it, that they doe call downe for fire from

D

Heaven

2. Chro.
22 3. ver 4

Ahab did but hear-
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But saith
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Dogs
licked the
blood of
Naboth,
the Dogs
shall lick
thy blood
even thine
1. Kings
21 19.

of whole Camp (for now they are engaged in a warre against the Lord Christ) is come up even to their owne Nostrils : and hath cast a *filthy savour* over all the Churches of God, spread over the face of the whole Earth. *Sound* Protestants they ! No; sound Athiests, and Papists they, enemies and Adversaries to all Righteousnesse. It will be manifest thorowout the next particular of the charge.

3. Doublesse he would make the world beleeve that he also would venture his *Life as farre and as freely* for the *Protestant Religion as the King would doe* : We may beleeve him with some *Reservation*, what they were Ignels, and may in part examine anon) who Huried the King into a warre against the Kingdomes of Christ, that hee might sheath his sword in his Subjects bowels. Hee and and his fellow Counsellours *venter their lives as far and as freely for Religion* ! It is for the Pagan or Popish Religion, then, an Abominable Religion: for under the heavens of God never were there found such enemies, such fighters against God, and Religion by (Gods) *Law established*, as these Counsellours are who have adventured *farre and freely* indeed their honours their Estates, their lives, their soules; I, and the life of their lives, their God, His favour, His protection; they venter *farre and freely* indeed, their God and all, for a Religion by (their own) *law established*. And yet sayes he, he and his fellowes *will venter as farre and as freely* for Religion (he would make us beleeve) *by Gods Law established, as any men in this Kingdome*. So he sayes, And so they doe : And so the Devill and his Angels will say, and doe too : and so they did, just as they doe now, the *Dragon and his Angels* fought with *Michael and His Angels*, Revelation : 12. So
farre

farre and as freely these Counsellours venter themselves. Here is now the third particular of the charge, charged, as indeed it ought to be, upon the *wicked Counsellors* who are at this Day to the King their Master, as *Athaliah*, and the house of *Ahab* were to that unhappy King *Ahaziah*; she *his Counsellour to do wickedly*: They his Counsellours to *his destruction*. And yet let my soul abhor to deal unfaithfully with God, and His King, against the good word and minde of God; and the knowledge He has beene pleased to communicate unto His poor servant, therein, which is this, That the Lord God chargeth all the Bloodshed in a Kingdom that which is openly shed, & with both hands, or with an *high Hand* before all Israel and before the Sunne, all this the Lord chargeth) upon the King, He has set over that Kingdome: So doth he all *Abominable Idolatries* committed before the eyes of His Holinesse, and under the looke of the King; all these, that *Bloodshed*, and these *Idolatries*; The Lord of lords, and God of gods chargeth upon the King, though wicked men were his *Counsellors*, to doe wickedly against God, and His poore People.

Now I proceed in the same Page, and to Page following, where first we read his blessing upon this *great and Populous City*, God blesse it said he. Amen; And blessed be His name He doth Blesse it, in all the Peoples sight; And His Blessings are the more conspicuously *visible* upon the City, the more *Audible*, the Adversaries curses are against the Prosperity of the same: For indeed all that this Bishop did in the time of his reigne, and all his fellow Counsellours do now, was and is to bring down a curse upon the City: certainly their zeal is so fiery against the prosperity of it, that they doe call downe for fire from

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Heaven

2. Chro.
22 3. ver 4

Ahab did
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But saith
the Lord to
Ahab thou
hast killed,
and where
Dogs
licked the
blood of
Naboth,
the Dogs
shall lick
thy blood
even thine
1. Kings
21. 19.

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D

Heaven

2. Chro.
22 3. ver 4

Ahab did but hearken to his Que ene, granted her his seal, so she murdered Naboth. But saith the Lord to Ahab thou hast killed, and where Dogs licked the blood of Naboth, the Dogs shall lick thy blood even thine
1. Kings 21. 19.

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from Heaven to consume it as *Sodom* was consumed. O how gracious a God is our God ! our sins call for a curse; our enemies call for a curse: *Free-grace* with holds it, it shall not come : while the City keeps close to God and to his cause ; and cannot *beare them, which are evil* ; and for *Christ*, and *His Names-sake*, and His Churches sake, hath laboured and hath not fainted. The adversary and Enemy to all *Righteousnesse*, calls for a curse upon the City, day and night, and had he an Arme like God, he would raine-downe fire and Brimstone upon it ; God will not suffer it so to be. He hath blessed it, and it must be blessed, Blessed be his Name ; Bless it still, Lord, bless it, still ; even because thy adversaries do curse, bless Thou ; and let thy Friends see an encrease of thy Blessings, in an answerablenesse to thy adversaries Curses. Amen.

I recall my selfe now, and the dying mans Blessing, God bless the City ; then he minds them very well, of that, which will bring a Curse, the *shedding of innocent blood* ; (so will the sparing of the *Noent*, the wicked parson) and bids them beware of it ; the people have been (said he) very forward that way stirred up against him, as once against Saint Stephen ; And Herod (in his construction (I verily thinke) the *Parliament*) went before the people the selfe same way, when he had killed Saint Iames (interpreted, beheaded the Lord Strafford) And now they see how well it pleaseth the people (indeed it pleaseth them verry well, every man in the City except Malignants there) they will venture upon Saint William too ; I have ploughed with his hayser, and read his Riddle, and made it plain Scripture. He spake againe to the City, take heed sayes he of having your hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiah* : God is now on foot making inquisition for blood

Blood (indeed He is) And now God remembers the complaint of the poore, (indeed he doth so, and forgetts not) but what poore? Those poore, sayes he, & puts himself in the number, whose blood is shed by such kind of meanes, (as his must be) It was his manner at Court to prevaricat with God and men; and to pervert the good word of God, to a cleane contrary sense, and now he could not do otherwise at his death. Then He warneth the city the third time, take heed of this, It is a fearfull thing (at any time) to fall into the hands of the Living God in the 12. of the Hebrewes: but it is fearefull indeed, then especially, When God is making His Inquisition for blood, A man could not speak more Terror to his own heart then these words hold forth, if he had had an heart to consider one them, and Ponder them, well (viz) God is one foot now to make inquisition for blood: and at that present time, hearing the complaints of the poore, and answering the Desires and sighings of his prisoners and His needy oppressed ones; The Lord was Risen now, and had taken the matter Into His own hands, whereinto this man was now fallen, and at that instant of time undressing himselfe for the block, thence to rise to judgement, to give an account of his sayings, and doings, the Rage of his wrath against Gods hidden ones. O fearfull thing indeed! and Terrible words; yet came they from him, as from a Truke; his heart was quite past feeling, as that he was not sensible of any word he spake, so far as the standers-by could discern; which words well thought on, would make the ear tingle, and an heart of flesh melt away to nothing. I must passe over these words also, and stay a little upon the following: for we must not forget how he remembers the City of Jeremiahs Words and Case, and

makes all, as well as he can, paralele with his owne case. But oh how different is the Case, and how unparalele with *Jeremiahs* words: *Jeremiah* sought the peace of *Jerusalem*, spake all he spake from the mouth of the Lord: for this his faithfull dealing, the Nobles, (to whom the King could deny nothing:) would have *Jeremiah* put to death: take him, saies the King, *he is in your hands*: (Gods hand over ruled there; do to him, as you pleas: Then said *Jeremiah*, take heed what you do; if you put me to death, God will require it, when He makes Inquisition for blood: and you shall bring *Innocent blood* upon your selves and the City. Innocent blood, the blood of him, who stood up night, and day speaking for the good of the City. This man did cleane contrary, as all the City knowes very well, so do all the Christian World. And not to have him put to death, had been to bring *innocent blood* upon the City; the blood of souls too, which hee had destroyed by his evill Doctrins, and Practises all throughout the City. Therefore he must be destroyed; *Rebellion* against God, *Treason* against His Christ must be punished with cruelty, A cruell messenger must bee sent against a son of *Rebellion*, to take off that head, which plotted the ruine of Christs Kingdome. Mercy to such a man had been cruelty to good men: To spare the evill, vile and treacherous persons, is to destroy and make havocke of the Righteous. It is notable, which the Noble Scholler saith; *Plebotomie* (i.e.) blood-letting by cutting a vaine, is so necessary sometimes for our bodies, that, unlesse we let out our corrupt blood, wee must let out our soules: So (Cædes) chopping off heads, or hanging them up before the sun, cutting downe the whicked, as in *Queene Hesters* dayes, (dayes of slaughter) when the wicked were mowed downe as the grasse or corne before

before the Reapers, This is necessary for the civill or politicke body. And when this justice, and vengeance of the Lord is executed, then it is a good day with the City, and the memoriall thereof must not perish from their seed; for the Righteous must rejoyce when they see the vengeance; because Psal. 58. then they see clearely, That there is a reward for them; And their God judgeth the earth.

His following words seem pointed with teares; Hee seems to weep over the City as Ishmael over the bodies, he Iere. 41. himselfe had slain: so he bemoaneth the Church of England now in a storme her selfe; and God knowes whether Pa. 12. 1. or how it shall get out. Well, let that passe, The Church 17. has a promise for that, she shall weather-out the storme, and be brought to safe harbour: And now the Lord steeres her course, the most direct way thither ward, through these mighty floods of great waters, which shall serve but to make the Churches harbour or promised Land, more faire, and desireable now, and more joyfull at the last. But yet we cannot forget, That this man, who so bemoaned the Church, helped mightily to raise the storme. And that which is yet worse, (and so to retort his owne words) he helped to cause divisions amongst us, and to cleave Kingdomes and Churches to shivers as with wedges, that thereby Profanenesse and Irreligion might creep in (said he) might rush-in like a Mighty wind, or flow-in like a mighty flood, which leaveth no food, say I, and so will every man say, that observed his Doings and Sayings, all the time of his raigne: for what could he have done to bring in these abominations, which he hath not done? Indeed to use his owne words, and to explaine them, P. 12. or The Church is last line. fallen into a great deal of danger by her own (i.e.) Jesuits, Arch

The Life and Death of William Lawd,

Bishops and Bishops, a great deal of danger by her own: for these Bishops, he the chiefe Bishop, and all the other of the same order, Bishops or Priests, did all of them contrary to what they should have done, and Iehoiada the good Priest did do; he made a covenant between God and the King, and the people, that they should be the Lords people:

2. Chron.
23.16.

But he and they did quite contrary by their *abominable Doctrines, and practises*, they divided the King from his God, and the people from God and their King, that they should be no more the Lords People, And now the great house of the Kingdome was cleft, as with *wedges to shivers*: for where there is a *dividing from God*, there will be *divisions* among men. And where sinne is, especially the sinne of Idolatry, there will be a *storme*, and *prophanesse*, and *irreligion* will *come-in like a flood*. And so has the Church of England been dealt with by *her own* (i.e) Arch-Bishops and Bishops, *panders* for their own lusts, *proffers* for their owne Rome; *subtill Brokers* for their *Babylon*: And yet see, the impudency of these Arch-Bishops and Bishops! Though they are all cast forth as dung, out of two Kingdomes; and one of them *hanged-up* for his villanies in Ireland; And their Arch-Bishop is *cut-asunder* here, because he did cleave *Kingdomes to shivers as with wedges*: yet they will bee Arch-Bishops and Bishops still, That they will, though God tells them they shall not: He has troubled their seas, and He will trouble them; their sea shall work so high that they shall not be able to weather out the storme which lyeth upon them; Yet they are as Ambitious to rise againe to their *throne*, as their Arch-Bishop was unwillingly to fall upon a *Scaffold*: but thus an *hardned heart* will

ubi pecca-
tum bi
percella.

will doe, rise-up against the Lord God, not observing The Lords sword is in His Hand, to ease himselfe of such Adversaries; To destroy their Lordships utterly, and to take away that blasphemous name, Arch-Bishop, from under the heavens of God, that it may not be once named any more in the Churches of God.

The last particular is (for now he said he was hastning out of this miserable world, and may trembling pen hastens after) he bespeakes the peoples good opinion of him, whom even now, he called *calves* and *persecutors*, all by his owne name; notwithstanding he would have them conceive well of him, and take knowledge, that however he lived, yet he was borne and died a sound Protestant: a lover of that Religion from his youth up, and stood firme and fast thereunto till his Death, and now would die in it. And this is the sum of his full answer, to that he said, *perhaps was clamoured against him, that he would have brought in Popery*: If you would have replied here, that he brought false worship into the Church, *Crucifixes, Crosses, Altars in thither*; he would have answered you fully, that so indeed he did, but that was to keep an uniformity in the externall service of God. And if you would have asked him, as indeed I was about to do, to explaine the word *Protestant*: because Athiests and Papiests use the same words in their sense too; so also, what he meant by *Religion established by law*, because there may be a great ambiguity in that word, there being a Religion established in England by law, which is downright Popery: And this word Law is ambiguous too: for there is a law in our members, which fighteth against God; and there is a Law of small ordinances, which stands opposite

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opposite to Gods Law also; If, I say, he had been asked to explaine himselfe, I know not what hee could have said more than he said, *I was borne and Baptised in the bosome of the Church of England* (So were Arch-Rebels, and Arch-Traitors also there) as it stands yet established by 'Law. I cannot understand him there: He should have said, I profess 'that Religion, and in that I come now to die, which stands 'established by the Word of God, And had he said so, I had not beleevved him; For though *Saul* before he was *Paul*, I mean before he was converted, would have said almost as much, that if hee had died at that time, he had died in the Religion of his Fathers, but he would not have said, in the Religion and Faith of Christ, for Him ignorantly he persecuted, though he would not have thought himselfe a Persecutor, as he calls himselfe afterward, But not till after his conversion. I confesse I stood at amaze here; If any other stand so now, reading this his following Protestation, let us take the *thread* of his life, and so go through all his *Doings* and *sayings* all his life long: and then we cannot be so credulous as to beleevve his Protestation at his death, which was : *That he never endeavoured to altar the Lawes of the Church or State: never endeavoured the subversion of the Lawes of the Realmes nor change of Religion.* Never endeavoured ! He ever endeavoured it, witnesse High Commission and Starre Chamber Courts. God, Angels, and men are all witnesses there, That he more than endeavoured it, he affected it; he subverted the Lawes, and changed the everlasting Ordinances, as he could. And wee are confident, that though the light which was in him was darknes, and great was that Darknesse, yet he could not but have so much

much light remaining, as to clear unto himselfe his falacy about this word, *Protestant*, and those words also *Religion established by Law*, wherewith he would deceive the people: and his impudencie also, denying that hee ever endeavoured the subversion of the Kingdome: For could he do as he did to the pure worship of God, and His Worshippers; To the day of his Wrship? could hee keep in the Popery, which he found, a great deal in Chappels and cathedrals; could hee keep all this in? And could he bring in, by maine force, into our Churches what he found not there, Pictures, and Images, and set-up Altars in all churches, his hand could reach unto, and yet no endeavour to Altar Religion: could he set his foot so *imperiously* upon the lawes of the Realme, and never endeavour the subversion of those lawes! This is as incredible as for a Frier (So the old tale goes) to have the Liver of a Goose, and the heart of a Pig, and yet to have nothing killed for him. Surely, as he went crosse to the light of God all his life long: So did he to his owne light, at the hower of his death; Truly I cannot thinke otherwise: For the *light of nature* cannot be quite extinct in this world; I have told but my conceit here, but methinkes it is more than a conceit, That his *Protest* for his *innocencie*, hightens his crimes, makes him more detestable, and the man more nocent.

In the last place; *That he was no enemy to Parliaments.* Beleeve him we may with his reservation; "So long as they appeared for Episcopacy: and
"were fast friends to Gods enemies, Arch-Bishops

E

and

2nd Bishops. *But one Parliament there was, and blessed be God there is, he said two, and these indeed he disliked, for some misgovernment there, Saies he. We understood him very well; This Parliament are enemies to that misgovernment by Arch Bishops and Bishops. All Sober men in the world, like the Parliament for this, and blesse them day and night, and God for them; And for all the good Hee has wrought by them. Oh Blessed be God, who has given wisdom, and discerning unto men to see unto this misgovernment, and has made them resolve upon this question, That this misgovernment in and over the churches of God shall be no more, no more Arch-Bishops and Lord Bishops; For God is above them, who would hold-up that Misgovernment still. Blessed be God for this for ever and ever: That this Misgovernment, clean opposite to the Government of Christ, is taken away; Salvation and Glory and Dominion be ascribed to our God for this, Amen.*

pag. 14.

He has almost done, so have I, He has one Desire to put up to the Throne of Grace, and that is a great one, It is, That God would forgive him. *I humbly desire to be forgiven, first of God, and then of every man, a great desire indeed to be forgiven of God: If that Desire be granted, then come life, come Death, nothing comes amiss; All that comes whether fire or sword all is welcome. Oh this desire must be well thought-on, managed, and ordered every day, early and late there, that it may be heard and answered, at the last, when we are breathing it forth last of all, and with it, our soul. God knows, who knows the heart.*
 That

That I joyned with him as I could. But to speak the Truth, Though my soul went forth affectionably towards him; yet my spirit could not go out with one word in his Petition.

(1) *His desire*; I could not close with that, because the Lord has said, *The Desire of the wicked shall perish.*

(2) *To bee forgiven*; I could not heartily close with that neither: for I remembred what we read, *The great man humbled himself* (before Wood and Stone) *therefore forgive him not.* Oh terrible words! *Forgive them not!* Esa. 2. 9.

Many a man, you will say, has done so, and God has forgiven him for so doing. Yes, for nothing is so free as *Grace*; And nothing, not sin it self, can be so multiplied, as Gods pardons are to poor humble sinners. We must not limit Gods infinite Mercie. No, we do not. But we must take all together; Great sinners * have been forgiven, the very Argument that *David* useth, *Forgive my sin, for it is great.* The most abominable Idolaters, these have been forgiven; But they have been indeed *poore penitents*, *greatly humbled before the Lord*; for *humbling themselves before the creature*, the workes of their hands, or imaginations of their hearts. Wee cannot tell where to read this man, a *poore penitent indeed*. Manasseh
a great
sinner, but
greatly
humbled.

We read him indeed, *humbly desiring forgiveness of sin*, but no where do we read or observe him, *humbly confessing his sin*. But the contrary we finde: And therefore so faire as God hath communicated His minde to His servants, touching this mans *desire*, and

his prayer at the foot of his Sermon: So farre they may declare it, That this mans *desire*, and his *prayer* both, the one and the other, was an abomination to the Lord. *Secret things belong unto the Lord our God: But things revealed unto us and to our children.*

His prayer at the foot of his Sermon, takes with a world of people, as his sermon did. Indeed, we are very prone to make an Idoll of our last prayer; we hope we may flie unto it, when we are slaying, as *Ioab* did unto his *Sanctuary*: God will hear our last words, think we, though we regarded not to hear His words all our life long. This is but a conceit, a false hope, and will deceive us as it did *Ioab*, and as it has deceived all the wicked in the world, *Who cried, but there was none to help; even to the Lord, but He answered not*: And when this great confidence in this last prayer was rejected: then will follow, as then, a *steading down*, and a *casting forth for ever*. This gives fair warnings.

1 King. 2.
28.29.

Pf. 18.41.

1 That we do not dare to *turn away our care from hearing Gods Law*: For then, when we would *turn to God* (as at the point of Death certainly we would) then will He *turn from us*: And our *prayer* then will be, as for ought we can know this mans prayer was, an *abomination*.

2 Beware of such a prayer, which thine hand has formed, and thine eye onely prompts unto thee, so teaching thee to pray. I dare not censure that, which learned men do approve: But I am perswaded, That the soul shall find as little comfort in the *time of need*, from

from his prayer so formed, and so suggested unto him; as his pallate findes relish now in the *white of an Egge*.

3 Beware of having an hand, or voice in *restraining prayer*, or binding it to Formes. Thou art no more able to do this, then thou canst restrain *the sweet influences of Pleiades*, or binde *the Sun beames*: But beware of having a minde, or purpose in thy heart to do it, as this late Archbishop had, and these Lords of the World have at this day; Remember how it fared with this man, how *penn-up* and *restrained his spirit was at his Death*. He was putting-up a Prayer then, which he hoped would pierce the heavens, and reach the bosome of his Father there. A miserable Deceit; he had no help to forme his prayer but his hand; nor to suggest, or prompt, or teach him how to pray, but his eye; Ah Lord! A prayer so formed, so taught, and suggested, can no more reach heaven, than you can the highest star, with the shortest finger. And yet the Adversary and Enemy will have his *Service-Book brought into the Churches* again; God shall be served after their manner, with *formes*; the hand has framed; and with *prayers* the eye hath taught. Well, we shall see whose *Word* shall prevail, *Mans* or *Gods*; and how the Lord will *recompence* these proud men.

Iob. 38.
31.

I have done with the *Sermon* and the *Prayer*. Ile draw to a conclusion.

This man is false, and the lower, the higher his pinnacle was; The Lord sanctifie this our Brothers fall unto us, that it may be for our rising, and looking

well to our standing when we are up. There is matter of infinite *Use* in all, that we have read hitherto. It shall be threefold: For here is matter (1) of *great feare*. (2) Of *bitter lamentation*. And yet (3) of *exceeding joy*; with that we will end sure: But in order, and very briefly, giving but the hints of things, three words to these three uses.

1. Iohn 2.
15.

(1) Here is matter of *great fear* to thee, and to me, (we are lost in generalls) is there a *lust* in us, and bearing rule there, which is not mortified, nor by our will shall it be? Here is matter of *great feare*, That this *lust* whether of the *flesh*; or of the *eye*; or of *life*, will undoe us, will put us to *open shame* here; or, which is worse, seal us under wrath for ever; It is the manner, for an unmortified *lust* so to do, especially where there is no care at all taken about it, to mortifie the same: I do abound with terrible examples out of Gods Book, and the Churches book of dayes, all commanding our speedy care, and zeal for the *mortifying of every lust*; But this man, we have spoken of, is sufficient alone to presse us to this Christian duty. *Pride of life* was notorious in him; and he was so farre from shewing any care to mortifie *that lust*, that he did all to give life and strength unto it, And see how that *lust* served him; It was a meanes to put him to *open shame*; and what wrath may lie under to all eternity, I have not a tongue to expresse; only the thought of the misery, an unmortified *lust* (whereof we commonly say, is not a little one,) may bring upon us, a matter of *great fear*, and should engage us to the worke of mortification, and to speed that work. And sure-

surely this, which has been said, is of the same use to me and to thee, Reader as it is to him, or them, in whom *the pride of life* is so predominant, that they will, whether God will or no, be Arch-Bishops and Lord Bishops still, minding their *throne*, and forgetting the *Scaffold*. But fear we every *unmortified lust* in us, and use we, in the fear of the Lord, all means to mortifie the same; for mighty men have fallen (and shall fall) thereby, *they that made the earth to tremble, and did shake Kingdomes*. We must lead our lust captive; throw it down, from its dominion, casting it out of our hearts from having place there, *in our affections*, else it will throw us downe, and expose us to a throwing-out like unfavourie salt: Feare we an unmortified lust, we little know how far it may carry-us, nor to what shame it may expose us to.

(a) Here is matter of bitter mourning, and lamentation, certainly if good *Bradford* had beene alive, and had seene what our eyes saw, hee would have mourned bitterly over the *hardnesse of his heart*; and then hee would have come home to his owne heart, *my heart, said he, as hard as a stone*: But it was not so, for *his hardnesse was felt* and bitterly mourned over. Indeed this hardnesse, this rockinesse of heart, is matter of bitter mourning; The heart is as a stone, when it first comes into the world, and that is a naturall hardnesse: There is an hardnesse, which man, by severall acts, can *contrast* to render his heart like a *rock*, or necher *millstone*, or *Adamant*. And, O what a judgement is this, exceeding all the plagues of Egypt,

Egypt, for a rocky heart, was one of them, and the greatest amongst them all. A Rocky heart! Nothing makes any more impression upon it, than our hand does upon a rock. Mercies may be *shewred-down* upon this heart; they run-off againe as waters off a stone. Iudgements may be *pow ed downe* upon this rocky heart; *The fury of Gods anger, and the strength of battle*; the *Lord sets this man on fire round about*. And what then? yet he *knowes it not*; *It burned him, yet he laid it not to heart* (i.e) Though the fire of Gods wrath was very scorching upon him, yet his heart *melted* not, for it is a rock. The innocent blood, that he has shed is found-out; God at present is requiring it; The sighs and groanes of His poore, God has now heard, and He is now a foot to avenge his poore servants: And this murderer has received the sentence of Death, and yet so rocky is his heart, he sayes *ile eat and drinke to morrow I shall die*. Ah Lord! has the man a rocky heart? He has. Then he will set his *face like a flint*, and drive-on furiously against the Lord, and His *bidden-ones*, and upon the Drawn Sword in His way, more blinde than the Beast he rides upon: And while he *breaths-forth* threatnings against the Lord, and is mad with rage against those, the Lord has set His heart upon, hee may thinke that all this while, he *does the Lord good service*. A rocky heart! All the incomes of pleasures, and profits, out of all those sweets, the world affords, he drawes poyson. To be brief in so cleare a case; Has the man a rocky heart! Then hee will worke-out his destruction with both hands, by all meanes,

all

all waies, both by his Graces, and finnes; He doth cleane contrary to that, a man of a soft and *melting* heart doth doe: for he doth worke out his Salvation by all meanes all waies: An heart like a rock! A man had better be possessed of a Legion of Devills, than to have such an heart within him, It renders him, Spiritually, dumbe and deafe; It throwes a man into the fire, and into the water, and yet he *knew it not*; It dasheth him upon this Rocke, and that, and yet he feels himselfe nor hurt by it, he is as a man a-sleepe upon the top of a *Mast*, the seas work, and waters roare round about him, but he hears not. What shall I say? But a word more. A rocky heart! It renders a man, even his graces, shall I say uselesse? Nay, *Destructive* to himselfe and others: Of all this, this man, late Arch Bishop, was a very great example, Therefore I said, as sad an object he was as ever was looked upon: For his heart was a rock, and that is matter of bitter mourning.

3 It is matter of rejoycing too, even to the whole city of God: For when it goes ill with the wicked, it goes well with the Righteous, and *then the city rejoyceth*. That there may bee no mistakes, I will briefly propose two Questions, and answer them as briefly. PROV II. 10.

1. What is the force and emphasis of this word, *Rejoyceth*? It is the lifting-up, or rather a *leaping of the heart for joy*.

2. Why is this leaping for Joy? Not because the blood of a man is spilt; not because a man made in Gods Image and beautified with graces, whereof

he had great store ; but wanted the chief Grace
 vvhich teacheth to make use of all,) is taken a-
 way ; not for this ; The city rejoyceth at no mans
 destruction, or misery : It is a matter of sorrovv to
 the City to see a person, vvhich God has made, or
 the *graces*, vvhich God has given, all destroyed in a
 moment of time ; This is matter of sorrovv ; But this
 of joy, of *leaping for ioy*, that that head is chopped off,
 which plotted and contrived the *ruine of Christs
 Kingdom*. That those lights are both put out in dark-
 nesse, that would have put out the *light of Israel*. That
 that tongue is Silent in darknesse, which silenced or
 would so have done, all the faithfull ministers in all
 three Kingdomes. Cause of *leaping for ioy* ; That his
 day is past and his *night* come, who darkned the
 Lords Day more than any day ; and vvould have it
 prophaned by a law. Cause to leap for joy, that we
 saw his head drunke in his owne blood, who burned
 against *Iacob* (the Church of God) *like a flame*,
*which deuoureth round about : and powred out his fury
 like fire upon three Kingdomes*, that they might
 burne together in the fire of their owne rage, and
 wallow in their owne blood. Cause to leap for joy
 that we saw this mans head lie drunke in his owne
 blood, and himsele consumed in the fire hee had
 kindled. It goes well with the *Righteous the City rejoyc-
 eth*. I know there are many more Adversaries, Arch-
 ones ; And great Adversaries there are in the heates
 of Gods owne people, which only hinder, and set
 back the worke of Reformation mightily : But yet
 in the good of the City we must rejoyce ; and in the fall
 of

of this great Adversary, at he was an Adversary to God, we may leap for joy. We hope we shall see the house of our God purged no more with lying vanities; Nor the worship of our God defiled any more Nor the worshippers of God thrust into cor. any more Nor our Lords day blasphemed any more. Nor our priviledges taken from us any more. Nor the Royalities of our Lords Kingdome trod under by the food of pride any more: for we are confident and have full assurance, that we shall have Arch-Bishops and Lord-Bishops no more. *It goes well with the righteous, The City must rejoyce, must be exceeding glad. For when the wicked perish there is shouting (i.e) There is a skipping like lambs for joy because Gods enemy, and the Churches Adversary is taken away; An enemy to all Righteousnesse, to the Righteousnesse of faith by an opinion of a Righteousnesse by workes; An enemy to the pure worship, and worshippers; and to the Lord and His Day; An enemy to the Church, and State, endeavouring and effecting the subversion of the Lawes, and change of Religion. When the wicked are taken away there is shouting: For it is with them as it was with Judah, when Athaliah and Mattan-her Priest, were slain, their House and Altars and Images brake in pieces, for then all the people of the Land rejoyced: and* Chro. 23 *the Citie was quiet. It is so now with the Righteous, therefore are their mouthes wide open to sing the high praises of their God: For He that did lead into Captivitie, was lead into Captivitie: and he, that has kild with the sword, was killed with the sword, here is*

The life and death of William Lawde,

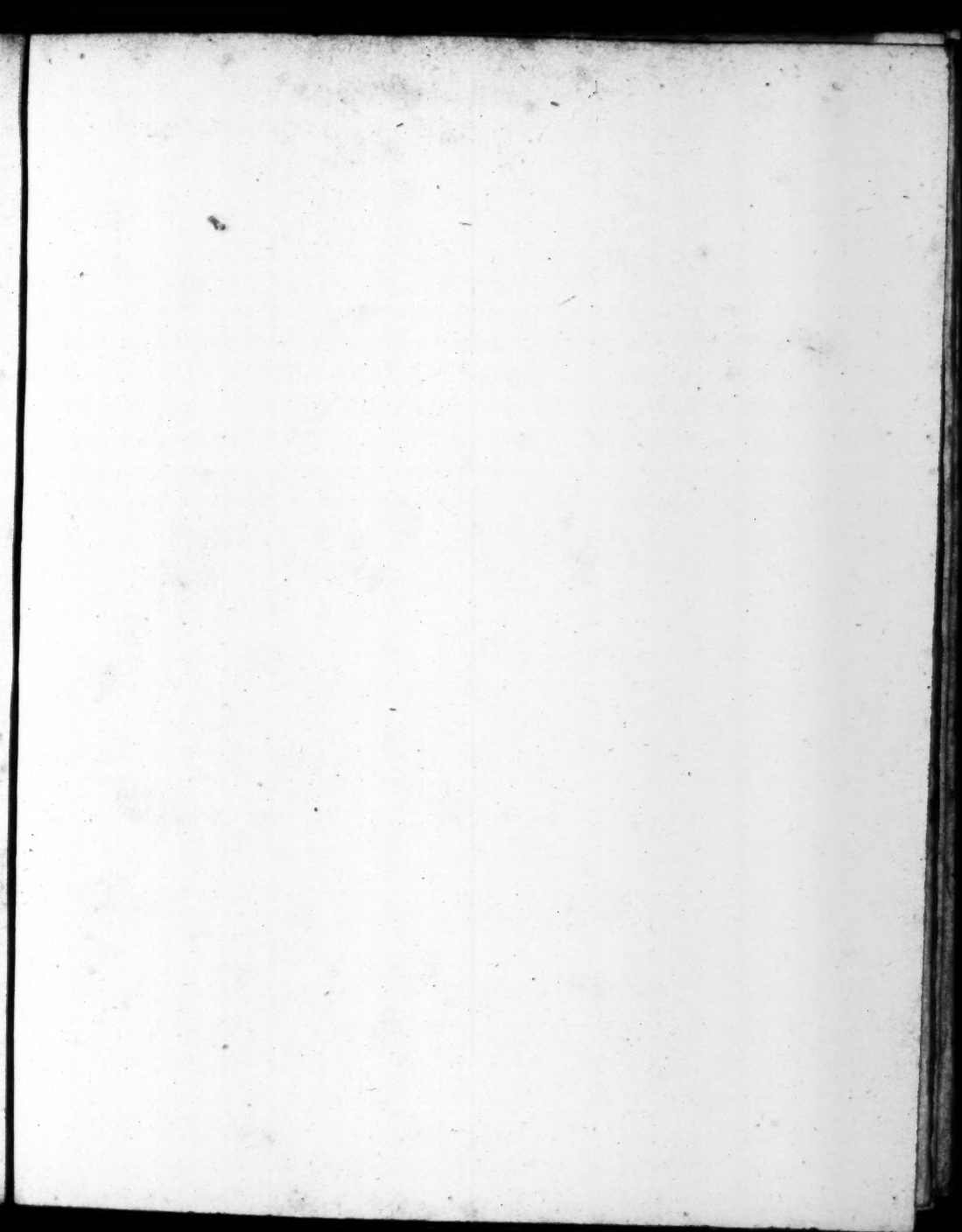
the Patience and the Faith of the Saints. They must waite a little while in full assurance that as they have seen, so it shall be to all their Adversaries, Archbishops, and Lord Bishops, and to all the enemies of God, who seek the ruine of Christs Kingdome; they whom they see to day, they shall see no more for ever. And then seeing the salvations of their God, they shall say, Great and meruailous are thy workes Lord God Almighty: Iust and true are thy wayes O King of Saints: For thy Judgements are made manifest. Amen.

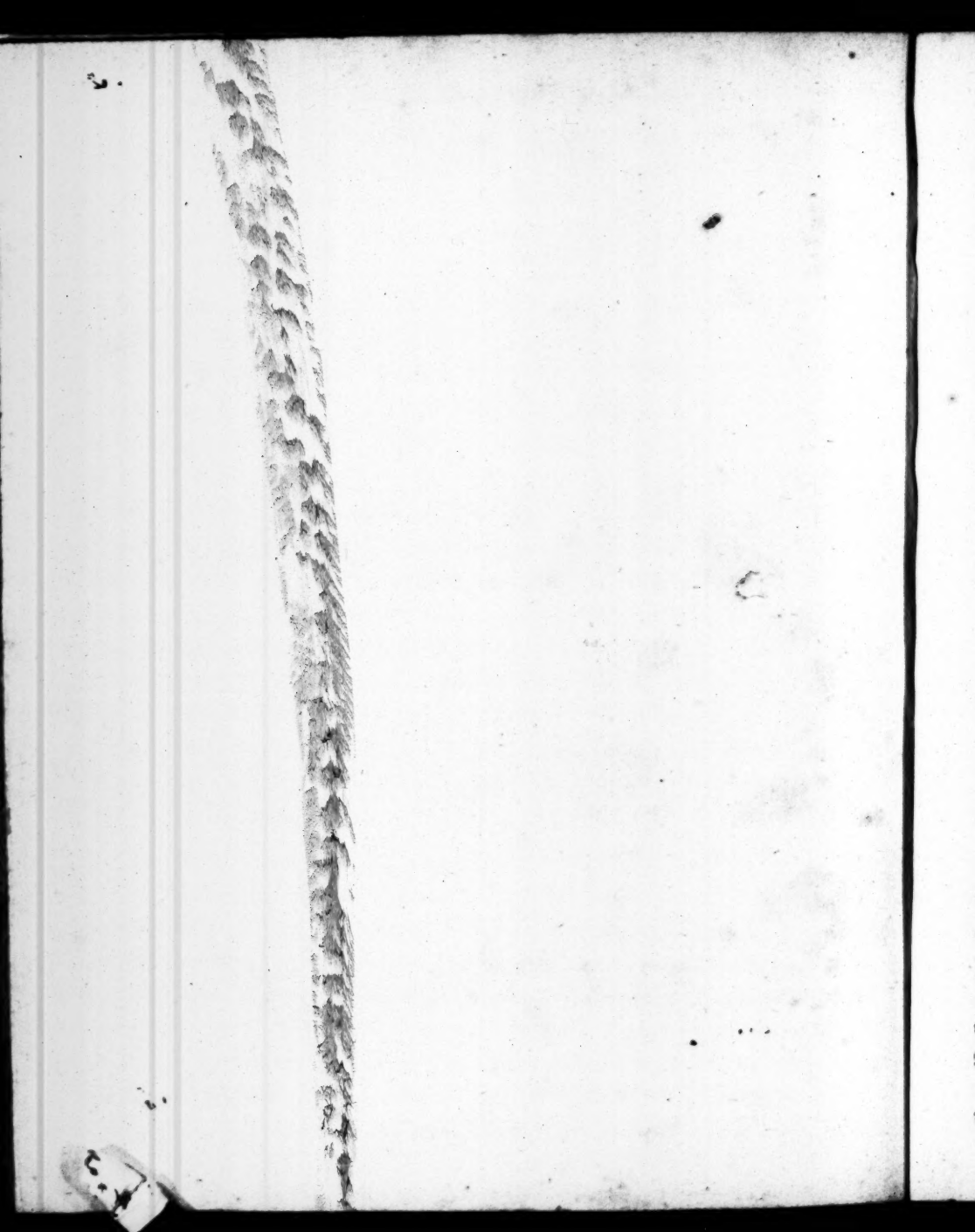


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Published according to Orden.







CALUMNY

ARRAIGN'D AND CAST.

OR

A Briefe Answer to some extravagant
and rank passages, lately fallen from the pen of

WILLIAM PRYNNE, Esquire, in a late Dis-
course, entituled, *Truth Triumphing over Falshood*, &c.
against Mr John Goodwin, Minister of the Gospel.

Wherein the loyall, unfeigned and unstained affecti-
on of the said John Goodwin to the Parliament, and Ci-
vill Magistracie, is irrefragably and fully vindica-
ted and asserted against those broad and unchristian
imputations, most untruly suggested in
the said Discourse against him.

By the said JOHN GOODVVIN.

Psal. 56. 5.

Every day they wrest my words: all their thoughts are against me for evill.

Psal. 120. 2.

Deliver my soule, O Lord, from lying lips, and from a deceitfull tongue.

Gal. 3. 4.

Have yee suffered so many things in vaine? if yet it be in vaine.

*Preceptum trahit preceptum, & transgressio trahit transgressionem. Dictum He-
braeorum. ex Mercero in Prov. 22. 4.*

Apologie nullas aures inveniant: calumnie omnes preoccupant. Oecolam. Epist.

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TO THE READER.

READER,



My businesse with thee (at present) is not much. Onely upon occasion of those passages of my Antagonist, replied unto in the following Discourse, I could not without breach of dutie, but administer this Preservative unto thee against the danger of very many writings on that side; that if thou beleevest them, especially in what they present concerning either the persons or opinions of their Adversaries, without strict examination, thou art like to embrace nuben pro Junone, and to match thy understanding with untruth. which kind of marriage oft-times and in many cases, proves of as sad and unhappie consequence unto men, as Ahabs joyning himself in this relation with Jezabel did unto him; concerning whom the sacred Record avoucheth this; That there was none like Ahab, who did sell himself to work wickednesse in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezabel his wife provoked^a. Errors and misprisions concerning the persons, practises, and opinions of men, having taken the

^a 1 King.
21. 25.



Jan 21. 18

Received of Mr. J. H. ...

the sum of ...

for ...

...



TO THE READER.

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My businesse with thee (at present) is not much. Onely upon occasion of those passages of my Antagonist, replied unto in the following Discourse, I could not without breach of dutie, but administer this Preservative unto thee against the danger of very many writings on that side; that if thou beleevest them, especially in what they present concerning either the persons or opinions of their Adversaries, without strict examination, thou art like to embrace nubem pro Junone, and to match thy understanding with untruth. which kind of marriage oft-times and in many cases, proves of as sad and unhappie consequence unto men, as Ahabs joyning himself in this relation with Jezabel did unto him; concerning whom the sacred Record avoucheth this; That there was none like Ahab, who did sell himself to work wickednesse in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezabel his wife provoked^a. Errors and misprisions concerning the persons, practises, and opinions of men, having taken the

^a 1 King.
21. 25.

To the Reader.

fancies and imaginations of some men, many times work them into very uncouth, violent, unseemly, and unchristian distempers, which makes them out of measure forgetfull of themselves, and of all rules of reason, equitie, and good conscience, in their representations of, and contestations against both the one and the other. Especially when the speciall and particular points of difference between them and others, are of a difficult evi^{ti}on and clearing on their parts, the resentment hereof is a sore temptation upon them to make many a voyage beyond the line of Truth, to fetch Apes and Peacocks, and I know not what monsters both of pra^{ti}ses and opinions to bestow upon them; that so the uncontroverted disparagement which they hope to derive upon their opposites by such imputations as these, may help to mediate the like disparagement of their judgements in those other matters of difference, in the thoughts and minds of men. Nor doth an Accuser (ordinarily) open his mouth to that widenesse, or lift up his voyce to that strength and straine of clamour, when he can come by any thing that is reall and matter of truth, to make his accusation, as when he is constrained to serve his disposition in that kinde, with that which is fiction, and pretended onely. The Jews that sought the suppression and ruine of our Saviour, not being able to prove any thing of reall demerit against him (for Pilate himself knew well that they had delivered him out of envie^a) thought to fill up the emptinesse of their cause or accusation, with the abundant loudnesse and importunitie of their clamour and cry: But they **CRYED, AWAY WITH HIM, AWAY WITH HIM: crucifie him.** And in another place, because they could not with truth reprove him of any sin^b; being put upon it to feigne, they did it to purpose, and charged him with being a Samaritan and having a Devill^c.

^a Mat. 27. 18.

^b Joh. 8. 46.

^c Ver. 42.

To the Reader.

Who would have thought that the Gentleman (my Antagonist in the ensuing pages) or A. S. the Duplicator against M. S. and some others of the same engagement, that I could name, would ever have sought protection for the cause they desire to maintaine, at those polluted Sanctuaries of untruth ! If our opinions know not how to maintaine themselves and live, without the undue disparagement, or collaterall impeachment of those who are of opposite judgement to us therein, it is a sore testimony against them, that they are but counterfeits, and not of the royall line and race of Truth ; who is able to maintaine all her legitimate off-spring, with her owne demerits, and native inheritance, without the unjust taxations of the reputation, practises, or opinions of her Adversaries.

Till the Sons of Difference in matters controversiall, give over all wresting (at least, all wilfull wresting) and perverting of the sayings, doings, and opinions of their opposites, and catching at impertinencies and lighter oversights, and lie close in their reasonings to the points in difference ; they will never doe any great matter, either for the truth, or for their owne Repute, amongst sober and advised men.

This brieve advertisement I thought needfull to impart unto thee ; and if thou hast the taste and relish of it in thy spirit, I have nothing by way of transaction further with thee (for the present) but onely to expresse my desires unto God on thy behalf, that the perusall of the little piece ensuing, may either make or keepe thy thoughts streight concerning the man, (a friend of thine, who ever thou beest) whom thou shalt finde fiercely accused, and yet (I hope) sufficiently (though calmely) acquitted therein. It is a
Speciall

To the Reader. •

speciall grace of GOD vouchsafed unto thee, to be preserved, from making that crooked, which he hath made streight.

From my Study in Colemanstreet.

London. Jan. 30. 1644.

Thine in Him who is
our all in all,



JOHN GOODWIN.

Faults escaped in some Copies.

Pag. 5. l. 24. for, *cnofidence*, r. *confidence*.

Pag. 18. l. 24. for, *rerum*, r. *rcum*.

Ibidem. l. 30. for, *contemned*, r. *continued*.

Pag. 28. l. 6. for, *rf*, r. *of*.

Pag. 32. l. 30. for, *right*, r. *Law*.

Pag. 35. l. 18. for, *declare*, r. *decline*.

Pag. 39. l. 15. for, *not onely*, r. *not onely not*.

Pag. 42. l. 13. for, *shacking*, r. *sharking*.

Pag. 44. l. 31. for, *commodious*, r. *commodiously*.

Pag. 46. l. 20. for, *yet* (and, r. (and yet.



CALUMNY ARRAIGN'D AND CAST.



Since the finishing of my lately published (a) Discourse, my Antagonist having (as it seems by his own expression (b)) sacrificed the necessary naturall rest of his body, upon the service of the un-necessary and violent restlessness of his spirit, hath thereby gotten the opportunitee of doing very good service to the way of *Independencie* (so called) by sending forth a Discourse into the world, intituled *Truth triumphing over Falsbood*; i. (by the figure *Hypallage*) *Falsbood triumphing over Truth*: For whereas the weight of his credit and reputation before lay somewhat heavy upon the shoulder of *Independencie*, and oppressed it; by the unchristian extravagancie and impertinencie of this Discourse, he hath so farre eas'd and reduced the burthenfomnesse of it, that it may now be endured and borne without much detriment or disadvantage. And doubtlesse, Divine providence was above him in drawing this acknowledgement and confession from him, that these *Collections* or *Lucubrations* of his are *distracted* (c) and *impotent* (d): *Distracted* they are in point of argument or reason; *Impotent* in point of heat, height, and passion. Or did we wave his own confession of the *distractednesse* of them, his expectation of such preferment for them as the satisfaction of the learned (e), yea, and conviction of all the world (f), were a demonstration, and that *a priori*, of such a *malice*, or affection cleaving to them. For can any man, with any consistency of Reason, expect or think, that *learned men*, who have risen early, and gone to bed late, bestowed much time and paines to inquire

(a) Innocency and Truth triumphing together.

(b) My nocturnall lucubrations, borrowed from the *hours* allotted to my necessary naturall rest, &c. Epist. Dedic.

(c) Epist. Dedic. *Prope finem*.

(d) Epist. to the Reader. *Prope finem*.

(e) Epist. to the Reader. *Versus finem*.

(f) Pag. 110. *Versus finem*.

(a) Epist. De-
dic. non longe
à fine.
(b) *Ibid.* & p. 1.
(c) Epist. to
the Reader.

out the truth and certainty of what they hold and professe, should yet be so desultorie and light in their judgements, as by a few *indigested, not in all* (*), *subtile* (b), *impotent* (c) *collections and lucubrations* to be turned out of their way; especially when the Collector makes no more conscience of speaking truth in matters of fact and of the most obvious and easie cognizance, then Mr. Prynne in many passages doth in these his *lucubrations*? Doth he think that the elaborate and long-studied notions and apprehensions of *learned men*, are of no better use or worth, then onely to adorn the trophies and *triumphs* of his extemporarie pen? If he expected such obsequiousnesse of Faith from the judgements of *learned men* to his *subtile and indigested collections*, in matters of more difficultie and weight, his method had been to have laid the foundation of such credence, by speaking Truth in those things, which are every mans inquirie and cognizance, and wherein the miscarriage of his pen is obvious unto all. For he that hath not so much policie as *in parvis sibi fidem prestare*, will never get an opportunitie *magna mercede fallendi*. And he that will not deale honestly in the light, who will trust in the dark?

Secl. 2.

I shall not (for the present) insist upon the refutation of those twelve imputations in his Epistle to the Reader, wherewith he labours to render the *Independents* odious; all and every of which, (except the fift) are every whit as applicable (as I am able to demonstrate in the light of the Sunne) to his partie, as to the *Independents*, and some of them with farre more truth to the former, then to the latter. And for that inference which he deduceth from the fift particular there charged upon the *Independents* (which is the sting of the charge) as *viz.* that denying there is any Nationall Church under the New Testament, they must of necessitie deny one Article of their Credo, That there is a Catholique Church; This Collection (I say) is so *impotent and indigested*, that be that runs may reade *Non sequitur* written in the face of it.

Nor secondly, do I intend to unbinde or meddle with that *farago*, that bundle of blind learning; I mean, those transcriptions and quotations, fetch'd many (if not most) of them, out of the *darkest times of Popery*, (as himself somewhere doth little lesse then confesse) ^d which are the bulkie and unweildie part of his discourse: For, *What communion hath light with darknesse?* old obsolete,

solete, exolete Records, fetch'd out of the darkest times of Popery, are no *Urim* and *Thummim*, no Oracles to be consulted about the mind of Jesus Christ; no competent Judges or Interpreters of the Lawes and Statutes of Heaven. The saying of *Cyprian* is seasonable upon this occasion: *This is not to be esteemed true Antiquity to understand, quid hic aut ille ante nos fecerit, aut docuerit, sed quid is qui ante omnes est Christus, &c.* i. what this or that m.m. did or taught before us, but what hee did and taught who was before all, even Christ himselfe, who only is the way, the Truth, and the life, from whose precepts we ought not to digresse ^a. And besides, if M^r Prymes hand was no steadier, in transcribing these old matters, then it hath been in some things of later date concerning me, his Antiquity it self may have cause enough to complain of being perverted into noveltie.

^a *Cyprian ad
Cecil. lib. 2.
Ep. 3.*

Nor thirdly, shall I thrust my sickle into my brother *Burtens* harvest; but leave the latter part of the Discourse unto him, either to neglect, or answer, as God shall direct him.

But fourthly, (and lastly) I shall briefly acquaint the Reader, how unworthily my Antagonist hath dealt by me, (that I say not by himself, and his own Reputation) first, by assertion of untruths; secondly, by cruell and unreasonable wrestlings and torturing of my words, to make them speak what they never meant; thirdly, (and lastly) by slight and empty replies to things asserted and laid down by me.

For the first, he cites my two Sermons (intituled *Theomachia*) and my *Innocencies Triumph*, as denying (hee means dissuading) all opposition in word, deed, or thought against the Way of Independency, as a direct fighting against God ^b; which is a most notorious untruth; all that I drive at in these Discourses, is to dissuade men from opposing this Way with an high hand, lest in so doing, men should fight against God: there is no such assertion as this which M^r Prym chargeth upon me, nor any near it, or like unto it, in either of those Tracts. I no where affirm, all opposition to this Way, whether in word, deed, or thought, to be a direct fighting against God. Nay, p. 12. of my *Theomachia*, I affirm the quite contrary, viz. that it is not every degree or kinde of opposing a Way or Doctrine which is from God, which either the Text or the Doctrine calleth a fighting against God; but only such an opposing which is peremptory, and carried on with an high hand, &c.

Self. 3.

^b *Epist. Ded.
p. 3. paulo
ab initio.*

Sect. 4.

2. He cites my Sermon, preached Febr. 25. 1643. My *Theomachia* and *Innocencies Triumph*, as holding forth this Position, *That every particular Congregation of visible Saints, and Independent Church, is under the Government of Christ alone, as the ONLY Head, King, Governor, Law-giver of it; and subject to NO OTHER JURISDICTION, then that of Christ, his Word and Spirit, &c.* Which conclusion, though genenerally held and maintained by Protestants against Papists; and in that respect I need neither be afraid, nor ashamed to own it; yet if hee can find, or make out with any tolerable construction of words and sayings, of any, or all of those pieces of mine which he chargeth with it, let Mr. Pryne be true, and me the lier. But if otherwise, *curat lex*, &c.

Ibidem.

Sect. 5.

3. He chargeth me with affirming (in the fore-mentioned Sermon) *that it would be more easie for me, and I should rather yeeld to be torn in pieces by wild horses, then submit to such a Government which proceeded from a Parliament chosen by the Risse-raise of the world,* &c. Never was there an innocent and harmlesse expression more cruelly and despitefully handled, since the world was first haunted with a spirit of unrighteousnesse and untruth. The passage of mine, represented by Mr. Pryne, as you have heard, was only this (I shall go as neer the very words as my best memory will lead mee; but the effect and substance of the saying I perfectly remember) *It were as easie for mee to be torn in pieces by wild horses, as to submit to any Church-government what soever, which is not agreeable to the Scriptures, and minde of Christ.* But to deny subjection unto a Government which should proceed from a Parliament, because chosen by the Risse-raise of the world (which terms I mean the Risse-raise of the world, are supposititious too, and none of mine) was so far from my thoughts in that Sermon, that I expressly declared, and said (as severall of those that were examined about the Sermon before the Committee, there testified, and I nothing doubt, but to this day, do perfectly remember the saying) *that as a Church-government was not therefore to be received or submitted unto, because it is enjoy'd by men; so neither is it therefore to be rejectted, because it is commanded by men.*

Ibidem.

Sect. 6.

4. He cites the fore-mentioned Sermons (called *Theomachia*) as holding forth this assertion, p. 48, 49, 50. *that perchance all, or the greatest part of the Parliament and Assembly are not indued with the sanctifying Spirit of God,* &c. If there be so much as the least hint or

or insinuation of any such matter in any, in all of those pages, I shall mistrust either my eyes, or my *sensus communis* for ever. But if it be otherwise, Mr. Prynnes tongue and pen (as well they deserve) are like to beare the burthen of this my diffidence.

5. Hee cites the prementioned *Theomachia*, with my two books since, for crying up the Independent Way, as the very Government, Discipline, Kingdome and Ordinance of Christ himself, ^a &c. whereas,

^a Pag. 1; 4.

First, since the coming out of my *Theomachia*, I had put forth only one book (and that a very small one too, and which the violent and mercelle proceedings of himself against mee, extorted from me,) when this was affirmed and printed by him.

And secondly, there is no such cry, as that w^{ch} his fancie is troubled with, to be heard throughout either the one of those books, or the other. So that here is a double notorious untruth in this quotation: 1. that I had set forth two books, since my *Theomachia*: 2. that in these two, as also in my *Theomachia*, I cryed up the Independent Way, as the very Government, Discipline, Kingdome and Ordinance of Christ.

6. Whereas hee avers, that pending the complaint against me before the Committee for plundered Ministers, for some Antiparliamentary passages (so called by him) with other particulars, I justified the said passages again very wisely and lawfully in the Pulpit on a solemn fast day, and likewise in two printed books, to the one whereof I prefixed my name; the truth is, first, that (if my memory serves me not as ill as Mr. Prynnes confidence serveth him) I never justified, nor medled with those passages he speaks of in the Pulpit, either on any solemn fast day, or any other, within that compasse he speaks of: nor secondly, had I justified them in two books, when Mr. Prynns pen avouched it, though by this time it may be interpreted that I have; nor thirdly, have I put forth any book since, to which I have not prefixed my name; or at least suffixed it to an Epistle, if not at large, yet by the initiall letters of it. Therefore if Mr. Pryn implies, that I have published any book within the time hee speaks of, which I do not publicly own, he is implicated with a further untruth in such his implication.

^b Pag. 106

7. Whereas he affirms (with no want of confidence) that hee hath elsewhere answered, and fully refuted the passages aforesaid, what truth there is in this affirmation, let my last Discourse ^d testify. He hath answered those passages of mine he speaks of, much in such a sense, and after such a manner, as Mr. Walker and Mr. Ro-

^c Pag. 106.

^d Innocency and Truth triumphing together.

barrough,



burrough, have answered my *Socinian* errors: which *Answers* hee adviseth his Reader to see (p. 109. in the margin) but tells him not where they are to be seen.

Sec. 8.

8. Whereas he chargeth me in my *Innocencies Triumph* (quarrelling with the very title, as if it were unfit, and he unwilling that *Innocency* should triumph) with denying those very matters of fact which I voluntarily confessed in his hearing before the Committee^a, for which I was sequestred; the truth is, that there is no truth at all in this his allegation or charge. For, first, I am certain, that Jesus Christ was present at the Committee, as well as Mr. Prynn; and certain I am that in his hearing (which is every whit as good as Mr. Pryns) I confessed nothing there, which is denied by me in my *Innocencies Triumph*. I neither confessed that I neglected my parishioners, nor that I seldom preached unto them, nor that I prescribe a Covenant to my Independent Congregation, which in stead of my parishioners I have gathered to my self, before they be admitted; nor that I receive either of my parishioners in any other way, or after any other manner, then as I declare and expresse in my said book. If I had confessed any of these things, either before the Committee, or any others, I had been of Mr. Prynnes confederacie against mine own innocencie, and the truth. But what I did confesse before the Committee, I confesse as plainly in my *Innocencies Triumph*; as viz. first, that I had refused to baptize some children of my parishioners^b. Secondly, that I had not administred the Sacrament to my Parish for some moneths^c. Again, secondly, whereas he saith that I was sequestred^d by the Committee, for the matters before mentioned, and denied by mee in my *Innocencies Triumph*, in this hee asperseth the honourable Committee every whit as much (if not more) then mee. For (doubtlesse) it no way stands with their honour to sequester a man for that which was never done by him. Nor thirdly, do I know whether I may take Mr. Prynnes word (it is now grown so unstable) that I am suspended, censured, or sequestred by the Committee, either for the one thing, or the other; and besides, a friend of mine, inquiring of some that are Members of the said Committee concerning that suspension or sequestration which Mr. Prynn speaks of, received this answer from them, that they knew no such thing. I suppose it is not ordinary, that a sentence or censure should passe in a Court of Justice against any man, and hee not to have any knowledge of it for severall moneths

^a Pag. 107.
paulo ante me-
dium.

^b Innocencies
Triumph.
p. 18. 19.
^c Ibidem.
^d Ibidem.

moneths together: but if it be so, Gods will, and Mr. Prynnes will, (*Fiat Justitia*) in Mr. Prynnes sense, are fulfilled together.

9. He is not ashamed to avouch, that *I publish my brain-sick jealousies and suspicions of the Parliament behind their backs in open Pulpit, and then to the whole world in print* (a strange misdemeanor indeed, and more monstrous and incredible, then ever committed by the VERY Pope or Turk himself, or the great Antichrist, or the Arch-Prelate, or Oxford Aulicus, or the most venomous Malignant, that a man should doe that *behind mens back*, which he doth *in print to the whole world*) of purpose to make my Auditors, Readers, jealous of them, as men who invaded the very incommunicable royalties and privileges of Heaven (^a) : Whereas the God of Heaven, who knows my purpose and intent in those passages (as in all my actions besides) much better then Mr. Pryne knows the contrary ; and that my purpose therein was singly and simply, and with all faithfulness, as becomes a Minister of Jesus Christ, to caution those worthy persons of honor and trust, against that snare of sinning against God, into which great places of power and interest in the world are apt to lead men before they are aware.

Señ. 9.

(a) Pag. 108.
Circummedium.

10. He chargeth my late Sermons and Pamphlets to have kindled such unhappie flames of contention in our Church and State, as all the tears of Repentance which I may shed, will not be sufficient to quench. For my part I know of no such, I heare of no such, I know no cause why I should imagine that any such unhappie flames as he speaks of, should be kindled by any of my Sermons or writings. I have much more reason to conceive and think, that Mr. Prynnes writings charge mine with kindling flames of contention, much after the same manner, and upon the same terms, that one charged Eliab with being the troubler of Israel (^b) : and that mine may recharge his, as the Prophet did that King (^c).

Señ. 10.

(b) 1 King. 18.
17.
(c) 1 King. 18.
18.

11. Whereas he further chargeth me, that in my *Innocencies Triumph*, I slander the Parliament more then before, and shew my self a man despising Government (at least any Church-Government the Parliament shall establish not suitable to my fancy) self-willed, and even speaking evill of Dignities, &c. (^d) ; The truth is, that there is far more slander in the charge, then in the crime: the best is, that that book is open before the world, to see and judge whether there be, I doe not say any aspersion of slander, but so much as the least touch or tincture of

Señ. 11.

(d) Pag. 110.
Circummedium.

of any thing dithonourable to the Parliament, or to any Government or Dignitie whatsoever, because not suitable to my fancy.

Scct. 12.
(a) Pag 109.
Paul's post intimation.

12. Whereas he insinuates a guilt upon me of Socinian errors (a), and in his margin invites his Reader to see Mr. Walkers and Mr. Roburroughs answers to them; the truth is, that in the Answers he speaks of, his Reader may see and finde mistakes of my opinion, and confutations of those mistakes, as substantially managed as want of apprehension of my thoughts, and somewhat else, was able to manage such an enterprize: but for any Socinian errors of mine, they are onely to be seene in such books as were never written: and then where the Answers to them are to be seene, remains yet as matter of further inquirie for Mr. Pryme.

Scct. 13.

For the second head propounded, the unreasonable wresting, torturing, and tormenting of my words, I shall chiefly insist upon his paraphrase upon that passage, recited (in part) by him, p. 107. (but mis-cited in the margin, as touching the page, where it stands in my book). The tenor of the Passage is this; *If I have denyed the least dram or scruple of that power which is truly Parliamentary, and consistent with the word of the great and glorious God (of which misdemeanor I am not in the least measure conscious unto my self as yet.) I most seriously and solemnly professe in the presence of this God (my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost that I lie not) that I did it out of a loving, tender and affectionate jealousie over the Parliament, lest possibly they might dash their foote against that stone, by which all Rule and all Authoritie and power will one day be broken in pieces. So that if either my tongue or pen have in the least miscarried, it was, Error amoris, not amor erroris, &c.* You have heard the text: and if you have any mind to see darknesse brought out of light, hearken to the Interpretation.

But good Sir (saith this Interpreter, one, I may say of twentie thousand) can any ratiōall man think (though you should protest it ten thousand times over) that such Anti-Parliamentary passages as yours are, should proceed from your love to the Parliament? Suppose the passages he speaks of were Anti-Parliamentary (an aspersion I conceive fully attoned in the foregoing discourse) yet is it so highly irratiōall to conceive they should proceed from love to the Parliament, (especially upon ten thousand Affidavits made for it) that it must be made matter of a doubtfull disputation, whether it be possible for a ratiōall

will man so to think or conceive? Did Mr. Pryme never heare of a
*veing of people, who did *bono animo male precari*, with that which*
was hurtfull to their friends, out of good affection towards them?
Seneca (I am certain) speaks of such. And God himself is said to
*have testified things against his people (as the former *Englisb* translation,*
*and *Junius* out of the Originall reads the place, *Gen. 32.46.*)*
Cannot a rationall man conceive that these things might proceed
from love and good affection in God towards this people, because
they were against them? I cannot but think that Mr. Pryme himself
*hath been *Anti-Parliamentary*, I meane, hath done some things,*
(if not many) in their natures at least, if not in their fruits and ef-
fects, prejudiciall to the honour and safety of the Parliament, as
(by name) in representing their cordiall Friends (as sometimes his
conscience, or something else prevailes with him to call them ^a)
unto them as dis-affected unto them, and as acting, and that success-
*fully against their jurisdiction more desperately then the worst *Malignant,**
**Royalist,* *Cavalier,* on the *Arch-Prelate himself* ^b). Doubtlesse,*
such a practise as this, is in the nature and tendency of it very dis-
serviceable to the Parliament; as making sad (and so indisposing)
the hearts of those, whose inclinations otherwise stand ready bent
with all chearfulness, to serve the Parliament with all their strength
and all their power, as (blessed be God) they are resolved to doe;
after the example of Christ, who continued still to cast out Devils,
though represented by the Pharisees unto the people, as dealing by
Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils, in casting them out. Compare
Mat. 9. 34. with Mat. 12. 22. &c. So againe by representing unto
them as peaceable, innocent and harmlesse a generation of men; as
the land beares any, yea, persons as deeply and dearly devoted un-
to, of as high and honourable endeavours to promote the publick
peace both of Church and State, as those that are extremely derog-
atory and destructive unto both, yea, and great disturbers of our Peace and
unitie^c. Yet againe when he insuseth such notions and principles
into Kings, Magistrates highest civill powers, as this, that Christ hath
delegated his Kingly power unto them, &c. ^d he spreads snares of death
in their way, and tempts them to think higher thoughts of them-
selves then He that is higher then the highest of them will beare.
Now however in these and severall other things of like considera-
tion (which are ready too for instance) I absolutely conceive him

^a Though for the most part really cordiall in their affections, actions to the Parliament and Church of England (speaking of Independents) Epist. Dedic. Circa initium.
^b Pag. 107. Circa finem.

^c Epist. Dedic. Paulo post initium
^d Full Reply. p. 7. Circa initium.

to be every whit (yea, and much more) *Anti-Parliamentarie*, then ever I have been in any passages whatsoever, whether from my tongue or pen; yet doe I not think but that I may very lawfully, and without trespassing upon the reputation of my reason, conceive and think, that he did both the one and the other of the things mentioned, *out of love to the Parliament.*

Sec. 14.

Secondly, The honey of the foresaid passage, by reason of an ill digestion in his stomach, breeds this cholerick argumentation: *If this proceeded from such affectionate jealousie over the Parliament, I pray what made you so strangely, if not malignantly, jealous over them, as to feare and presume they might dash their foote against that stone, which, &c.* Good Sir, let me seriously intreat you to be more jealous over your pen for the time to come, and see to it, that in repeating and arguing mens words and sayings, it deale more honestly, then to adulterate and inbase them, as you doe both here and elsewhere in this discourse. Doe I any where say that either I *feare*, or *presume* the Parliament might dash their foote against the stone spoken of? Why then doe you represent me *so strangely, if not malignantly, jealous over them*, as to do both, both *feare* and *presume*? I confesse, I should be very *strangely jealous*, or (however) very *strangely affected* in one kinde or other, both to *feare* and *presume* in respect of one and the same thing, as you *feare* not, but *presume* to say here that I doe. You find out I know not how many significations (I beleve more then ever any man did before you) of the word *Presume*, p. 109. to save the reputation of your pen in charging me to have done that *presumptuously*, which I never did at all, or at most very ignorantly; but is there any one amongst them all, that is able to reconcile PRESUMPTION and FEARE, and make them draw together in the same yoke? But this by the way. Onely this I desire you would candidly account unto me, why you translate my expression, *Lest possibly they might dash*, by *fearing and presuming they might dash*. I beseech you deale ingenuously with your self and me: is there not farre more *malignancie* in the interpretation, then in the text? or did you not straine the roote overhard, to make such an *extraction* as this out of it? Nay, out of the vehemencie of your intention to make an unchristian advantage of your Brothers words, did you not almost forget the proprietie of your owne? I conceive I should speak much beneath the line of Mr.

Prynnes

Prynnes reputation for a Scholar, if I should expresse my self thus; I feare and presume that Mr. *Prynne* might doe that which is very possible for any man to doe. An English eare any thing well palated, would find no pleasant taste in such words.

But let us give Mr. *Prynne* the libertie of an Interpreter or Translator, who is not bound *Verbum verbo reddere*^a, and accept of his substitutes, *presumption* and *feare*; is either a *feare*, or a *presumption* (or both) that a Parliament might, or may, dash their foote against that stone I speak of, any demonstration or argument at all of so strange a jealousy as he speaks of, and which he is at a stand with himself, whether he should not call *malignant*? If any of the other Apostles had feared or presumed, that *Peter* possibly might fall (as he did) by denying his Master, (as they had reason enough to have done, in respect of that humane frailtie whereof the best men are partakers, and *Peter* himself was with the rest) and had dealt lovingly and faithfully with him to have kept him upright, by caution, counsell, or advice; had this been any argument at all, or so much as a colour of any such jealousy in them, which should have carried in it any touch of malignancie towards him? When *Paul* feared in the behalf of the *Corinthians*, Lest by any means, as the Serpent beguiled *Eve* through his subtiltie, so their minds should be corrupted from the simplicitie that is in *Christ*^b; was this so strange a jealousy over them? Indeed himself calls it a godly jealousy^c: and in such a sense, as godlinesse is strange^d in the world, let Mr. *Prynne* vote my jealousy over the Parliament, STRANGE; and then he shall be eas'd of his scruple, whether he should call it *malignant*, or no. But *jacta alea est*; and he intends not to make a stand here, but advanceth thus.

Did the Parliament ever give you the least colour or occasion of such uncharitable, unchristian, that I say not detestable, jealousy? Could you have harder or more jealous thoughts then these of the very Pope or Turk himself, or of that Great Antichrist, who exalts himself above all that is called God? Can such jealousies as these issue from any, but from a rancorous or disaffected heart towards the Parliament? or did ever such execrable jealousies as these proceed from the heart, tongue, much lesse the pen of any Oxford Aulicus, or most venomous Malignant to our Parliament? The straine of eloquence in these passages, may be thought above the line of Mr. *Prynnes* Rhetorique; nor can I beleve but that he

Señ. 15.

^a Nec verbum
verbo curabis
reddere fidus
Interpres.
Hor. de Art.

^b 2 Cor. II. 3.

^c Ver. 2.

^d Isa. 8.

Señ. 16.

• Mar. 16. 23.

• 2 Theſ. 3. 2.

S. J. 17.

had ſome ſupernaturall aſſiſtance in the raiſing and compoſure of them. And therefore whereas others (it's like) will be apt to cenſure him more for a few ſuch lines as theſe, then for many others of a ſofter temper, and more plauſible allay; I on the contrary, can better beare with him in theſe, and be content to paſſe by and ſpare him, as our Saviour ſpared *Peter*, when he rebuked Satan in his ſtead^a. But did I know that Mr. *Prynne* would not accept of this purgation, but when recovered out of that Tartarean Ecſtaſie, wherein he ſpake this dialect of Dragons, would ſtill ſtand by and owne thoſe ebullitions of bloud, as the naturall and genuine productions and fruit of his pen; I ſhould hardly refrain from taking a ſolemn vow and proteſtation upon me in the ſight of God, Angels, and men, never more to have to doe with him in word or deed, at leaſt untill he repented, and turn'd Chriſtian. Well might the Apoſtle *Paul* pray to be delivered from unreaſonable men^b: They that neither make uſe of their reaſon nor goodneſſe, (or charitie) dwell in ſuch a darkneſſ which is inacceſſible to all principles both of Nature and Grace. For the preſent, though I think it not meet for me ſo far to diſ-intereſſe my ſelf of my libertie to comply with ſuch opportunities from Heaven, which may poſſibly and unexpectedly come in my way, as abſolutely to abjure all commerce with him by pen; yet this I profeſſe, that I am as neere the brow of ſuch a reſolution, as ever I can goe without falling into it. From henceforth I ſhall give Mr. *Prynne* leave to write ſtormes and tempeſts, whirlwinds and earth-quakes, thundering and lightning, mill-ſtones and mountains, (or if his pen knows how to utter it ſelf in any thing more formidable then theſe) better cheap, then hitherto I have done: I ſee there is no mercy with him; and therefore I ſhall not feare him; no, nor in the mind I am in for the preſent, ever look after him in his writings more, this anſwer finiſhed. But to his lines (or, whoſe-ever they be).

➤ *First*, Doth Mr. *Prynne* think that he is heire to that Laurell which was long ſince wreath'd for the head of *Socrates*, reputed in his dayes the Grand-Matter of wiſdome in the world;

Tantum umbra volitant aſi; ſolus ſipit iſte?

Other men generally as well learned and Scholars by profeſſion, as others, yea, even thoſe in whoſe affections neither my perſon nor cauſe

cause were any wayes interest'd, gave testimony to my *Innocencies Triumph* (and consequently to that passage also so cruelly handled by Mr. Pryme) as moderately and inoffensively written: onely Mr. Pryme, as if his eyes were given him to condemne all the world besides of blindnesse, espies Bears and Tygers, Lyons and Dragons, where other men saw nothing but doves and sheep; discovers *fanatique jealousies, rancorousnesse and disaffection of heart, execrablenesse of jealousies, Oxfordian Aulicisime, venomousnesse of malignicie,* and I know not how many other strains of most portentuous and hideous outrage *against the Parliament*, where no man besides himself either saw or could see, any jot, tittle, letter, syllable, word, or sentence, but what both was and is of the fairest consistencie with the honour, dignity, peace and safety of the *Parliament*.

But secondly, how irrationall and weak is that demand of his; *Did the Parliament ever give you the least colour or occasion of any such uncharitable, unchristian, that I say not detestable jealousie?* as if to feare, or think it possible that men might be men, that is, do weakly or unworthily, were *an uncharitable, unchristian, detestable, execrable jealousie* over them; Or, as if there were not ground and reason enough, yea, and more then enough, in the very natures of the best and holiest of men, to judge that they may very possibly miscarry, and that dangerously, unless they should adde *ex superabundanti*; such personall irregularities, as might further preface their future falls. I wonder what Epithet or Name Mr. Pryme will find for that jealousie of an ancient Father over Kings, out of which he uttered this saying: *Admiror si aliquis Rex saluabitur*; I wonder that any King should ever be saved. If so be such a jealousie over them, which only conceiveth a possibility of their perishing, be *uncharitable, unchristian, detestable execrable*; of what censure is that jealousie worthy of, which makes it matter of admiration that any of them should be saved? Considering that there hath scarce (if at all) been any Council or Synod since the Apostles dayes, but which hath miscarried and heterodogmatiz'd, more or lesse; would it be *any uncharitable, unchristian, detestable, execrable jealousie* over any Synod or Council now sitting, to think that they also might possibly miscarry, unless they gave some particular and speciall occasion so to think and conceive of them?

But my Adversarie hath not yet finished his severe Commenta-

Seet. 19.
rics Mr. Prym, p. 108

ries upon his gentle and harmlesse Text; his pen moves forward thus: *Had you had any just cause of such a jealousy, yet it had been your duty privately to have informed your friends in Parliament with it in a Brotherly Christian way: but to publish these your brain-sick jealousies of them behinde their backs in open Pulpit, and then to the whole world in print, of purpose to make your Auditors, Readers, jealous of them, as those who invaded the incommunicable Royalties and Priviledges of Heaven, &c. — or to defame or draw an odium or contempt upon them; and prepare the people beforehand to oppose or reject whatsoever Church-government they shall establish, &c. — is such a transcendent crime and high affront against the Parliament, as you are never able to expiate: and is so far from extenuating, that it aggravates your former offences beyond expression.*

I answer, first, that howsoever by reason of my yeeres, profession, and tenour of studies, it is (I confesse) a shame to me, that I should not be as able to teach Mr. Pryne his duty, as (it seems) he is to teach mee mine; yet glad and willing shall I be to receive instruction, were it from a far meaner hand then Mr. Prynes; in any thing that becomes me in a way of dutie to do. But,

Sec. 20.

Secondly, whereas the tenour of his Instruction to me is this, that *it had been my duty privately to have informed my friends in Parliament with it in a Christian Brotherly way*; I perceive hee hath heard of dealing with his friends in a Way which well becomes him, as well as it doth mee; I mean, that which is *Christian and Brotherly*. But it seems, hee that teacheth another, doth not alwayes teach himself. For since the mountains were brought forth ^a and settled ^b, it may very probably be thought, that there was never any son of Adam, whose pen made a broader digression from that *Christian Brotherly way* he speaks of, then his own. For look as low as the Earth is beneath the heavens; so far is Mr. Prynes Way of dealing with his friends, beneath that which is *Christian and Brotherly*.

^a Psal. 90. 2.

^b Prov. 8. 25.

Sec. 21.

Thirdly, whereas he conceives it had been my duty to have informed my friends privately of what I preached and printed publicly in the premisses; I conceive it had been his duty to have understood himself better in the point, before hee had taken the Chaire. For first, the greatest part of the things which I either preached or printed in the premisses, concern'd only or chiefly those

those to whom I preach'd, and the generalitie of men to whom I printed, not the Parliament. That it is a terrible and most dreadfull thing for men *to be found fighters against God*, that it is better and more righteous to obey God than men; that men in great places, men of great parts, learning, and Grace, may possibly erre, and *de facto* have err'd from time to time, with some few particulars more of like consideration (which are the substance of what was either preached or printed by mee in the premisses) are Doctrines of equall (if not of superiour) concernment to the generalitie of the people, with the Parliament. As for that passage in my *Innocencies Triumph*, wherein I mention my *tender and affectionate jealousy over the Parliament, &c.* (the passage so tender'd, tortur'd and tormented by the evill spirit which so much haunts Mr. Prymies pen) it was occasioned (indeed necessitated) by his own most unreasonable, bloody, and importune suggestions, clamours and instigations of authoritie against mee: in regard of which I had no other course but to give a faire and reall account out of what principle and motive (in reference to the Parliament) I spake such and such things, which were most unchristianly handled and misused by his pen. Now then to whisper those things in the eares only of a few, the knowledge whereof concernes so many thousands, is *not the duty*, but an high prevarication of the *duty* of a Minister of Jesus Christ. Secondly, neither doth he know whether the Doctrines so much questioned and quarrelled by him, did, or do so particularly concern *my friends* in Parliament (by *my friends*, I suppose hee means my acquaintance: for otherwise I trust the whole number of that honourable Assembly are *my friends*; at least I know no cause but why they should) as many other members of this Assembly. If so, his ignorance in such a circumstance as this, plainly proves that he hath here *propheesied* above the *analogie or proportion* of his Faith^a; and consequently, (even in his own notion of the word^b) hath done it *PRESUMPTUOUSLY*. Yea, thirdly, how doth he know but that I did prevent the admonition or reproof of his pen, by doing the very *duty*, for the neglect whereof I am so deeply censured by him. I presume that my acquaintance in the *Parliament* have not communicated unto him all things that have passed between me and them; therefore his ignorance in this particular

^a Rom. 12.^b Pag. 109.paulo ante m^o
d. um.

cular also, proves him (according to the responfall of his own Oracle, even now intimated) to have been somewhat *PRESUMPTUOUS* in his charge of neglect of *Duty* in mee. Fourthly, and lastly, there being nothing in the particulars excepted against, either *preached or printed* by mee, which in the judgement of any indifferent or Christian-spirited man, is of any hard or disparaging reflexion either upon any particular person in the honourable Assembly of Parliament, or upon this Assembly it self, there could be nothing in the publishing of them, whether by *preaching or printing*, any wayes repugnant to any *duty* lying upon me.

S. H. 22.

That which followes in the late transcribed passage, as that *I publish my brain-sick jealousies and suspicions against them behind their backs, of purpose to make my Auditors, Readers jealous of them, as men who invaded, &c. or to defame or draw an odium or contempt upon them, to prepare the people before-hand to oppose or reject, whatsoever, &c.* these things (I say) with many others of like calculation, both in this and many other of his writings, are but the reasonlesse presumptions of his exasperated, transported, unchristianized spirit, over-heat (it may be) with his *nocturnall lucubrations*, and in part occasioned by the fuliginous vapors breathing still upon him from his lamp; and in this regard, I judge them unworthy to have *day-light* bestowed upon them for their refutation. Hee talks of my *brain-sick jealousies and suspicions*; but these are more then *brain-sick*, even *brain-dead* calumniations and slanders; ten degrees (to speak in his own language) more *unchristian, uncharitable, detestable, execrable*, then any (even the worst of) *jealousies* or *suspicions* whatsoever. If he would but authorize mee to reason after the rate of his Logique in raising conclusions from his premises, I could prove (according to the tenor of such authority) that Mr. Prynne hath written against the Congregationall Way, hath represented those that walk in it as *extremely derogatory and destructive both unto the Parliament and Church of England*^a, as great disturbers of our publique peace and unity^b; hath slandered them in their spirits, principles, practices, over and over^c; hath *presumptuously* attempted to insufe such dangerous principles as these into *Kings, Magistrates, and highest civill powers, that they are Christs Substitutes, Vicars, in point of Government* (Church-government

^a Epist. Dedic. non longe ab initio.

^b Ibidem.

^c Epist. to the Reader, all most throughout, and elsewhere in severall other of his writings, as his *full Reply*, &c.

government hee speaks of ^a) that Christ hath delegated his King-
 by power unto them ^b, that it may passe or tolerable, that Christ is King
 alone over his Churches in matters of Faith, & c. with many others
 of like undue insinuation; I could prove (I say) by the Commis-
 sion aforesaid, that Mr. Prym hath done all these things on pur-
 pose to despise the Spirit of God, to defame the Gospel, to make
 the Wayes of godlinesse and Religion hatefull unto the world, to
 increase divisions, to multiply distractions, to bring a snare and
 evill day upon the Parliament, to expose the whole Kingdome
 to titter ruine and destruction. Yea, the truth is, that there is a far
 more rationall connexion between the premises last mentioned
 from Mr. Prym's pen, and such collections and conclusions as these;
 then there is between those premises of mine transcribed by him,
 and the inferences which he extracts and deduceth from them.

A man might think that the Gentleman had by this time laid
 out himself to a sufficient proportion, in depraving both the ex-
 pressions and intentions of him, that never (to his best know-
 ledge) did him the least wrong, nor ever administred the least oc-
 casion of provocation; — *Sed audi facinus majoris abolle.*

Your last clause (saith he, yet further, p. 108.) *And if continued &c.*
intimates and speaks, aloud without any straining that the Parliament
 for the present are guilty of dashing their foot against Christ the Rock:
 of claiming the most sacred incommunicable royalties and priviledges of
 heaven, and making themselves equall with God: and that if they per-
 sever in the course they have begun (to Reforme our Church, &c.) it is
 such an high provocation against the most High, as will kindle a fire in
 the brest of him whose name is Jehovah; he should have said jealous,
 (but that his pen hath contracted an ill habit of stumbling) which
 will consume and devoure, &c. Could all the malignants and Prelaticall
 party in England lay a greater, wickedder, or more unjust scandall in our
 Parliament then this, or more defame them then by such a false report?
 enough to fire the whole Kingdome against them, as well as Gods
 wrath, &c. as it followeth in his most unjust and ignoble strain of
 Calumny. But for answer,

1. Doth a wicked or unjust scandall use to fire Gods wrath against
 those upon whom it is cast, and who are the sufferers. Though
 the sin committed be enough to kindle a fire in the brest of him whose
 name is jealous, against those, whosoever they be, that lie under the

^a Full Reply

pag. 7.

^b Ibidem.^c Full Replyp. 6. *prope* *sc-*
nem.

guilt of such a Commission; yet is there not the least colour to imagine, that the false or scandalous imputation of it unto any, should have the like operation, in respect of those that are so scandaliz'd.

He tells me of my being a *meer Divine*, p. 109, and a man altogether ignorant in the ancient Rights and Privileges of our Parliament, (with how little pertinencie or advantage to his cause, shall be taken into consideration in due place.) And by such passages as this, it seems he is every whit as *meer a Lawyer* as I a *Divine* (and consequently of no such super-transcendent abilities neither, to discern and judge of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, as will be manifested in due time.) For he that knowes not, that God is no wayes offended with men for having wicked & unjust scandals cast upon them, surely had need to be taught what are the first principles of the Oracles of God. And

a Heb. 5. 12.

2. Whereas in the beginning of the last transcribed passage, he speaks thus, *Your last clause, And if continued, &c. intimates and speaks loud without any straying, that, &c. doth hee not seem to rejoyce, as if now he had met with a full feast, and had onely scrambled for all he had gotten and satisfied his hunger with till now? And doth he not without any straying, seem to imply, that all my former clauses without straining, would have spake none of those things, which now by his racks, screws, and engines, he hath made them to speak? So that here we have consuetudinem rerum: oh that we had but the Participle as well match'd as the Adjective, that is (by interpretation) emendantem. confitentem, and then let both our bookes to the fire together, to purge out the drosse of them* b. But

b What ever
censure you
deserve, I fear
your book de-
merits the
fire to purge
out this dross.
p. 109.

3. The grand unhappinesse of the man is, that what I speake onely in *thesi*, or in the generall throughout the whole period or passage, wherein this clause, *And if continued, &c.* stands, hee here represents upon the Stage of his passion, as if it had been spoken in *hypothesi*, with particular and precise application to the Parliament. The whole period, though it be somewhat long, yet that the Reader may not be denied any part of his due in point of satisfaction, I shall transcribe, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, as it begins at the bottome of page 2. of my *Innocencies Triumph*. I confesse I am in the habituall and standing frame of my heart and spirit, tender and jealous over all the world, and much more over those who are deare unto me, but
most

most of all over those who being deere unto me, are likewise more exposed then others unto the temptation and danger of the sinne; extremely jealous and tender (I say) I am over such, lest they should touch with any title, or claim the most sacred and incommunicable royalties and privileges of heaven, and so count it no robbery to make themselves equall to God; knowing most assuredly, that this is a high provocation in the eyes of the most High, and if continued in, will kindle a fire in the breast of him whose name is Jealous, and will consume and devour.

I confesse I spake in some passages before this, of the Parliament by name; nor doe I deny all relation between this and the former: but all the relation that can reasonably be imagined between the one and the other, will not amount so much as to a colourable justification of this high-handed and full-mouth'd charge, that the latter speaks aloud without any straying, that the Parliament is guilty of dashing, &c. of claiming, &c. And that if, &c. These are every whit as pure and clean straines of that disposition which acted in the former part of this exposition, as any of those other which have playd before us already. And

4. Suppose the period had been perfectly Hypotheticall, and the contents of it applied to the Parliament by name, yet it is farre from speaking the dialect that Mr. Prymme would faine force into the mouth of it. He that shall represent the great evill or danger of a sinne, as suppose of oppression, drunkennesse, adultery, or the like, unto a man, in these or the like terms, *Know most assuredly, that such a sinne is a most high provocation in the eyes of the most High: and then should adde, And if continued in, will kindle a fire in the breast of him whose name is Jealous, &c.* doth no wayes suppose, that the person to whom such an addresse or representation is made, is under the present actuall guilt of the perpetration of such a sinne; but onely demonstrates the dangerous and deadly consequence of it unto him, in case he shall be intangled with the guilt, and continue in the perpetration of it without repentance. Therefore Mr. Prymme's Incubration and collection, that this clause, *And if continued, &c.* speaks aloud without any straying, any such Parliamentary guilt as he decipheres with his pen, is nocturnall, neither is there so much as a beam of the light of truth in it.

5. Whereas he chargeth that innocently-offending clause of mine, *And if continued, &c.* both to intimate and speak aloud, and that

without any straining, that high misdemeanour lately mentioned, (little lesse then capitall to him that shall avouch it) I cannot conceive any regular consistence in the charge. For though one and the same man, who hath a liberty and power both to alter his tone and voyce, and tenour of expression, may one while only intimate, i. whisper, or expresse a thing sparingly: and otherwhile, *speake it out aloud*, with a full and strong voyce, (though hardly thus without any straining at all) yet how one and the same clause in writing, which hath neither principle nor shadow of any variation or change of expression in it, but is still uniforme and standing both in the matter which, and in the manner wherein, it speaketh, should both intimate (or whisper) and yet *speake aloud* too, one and the same thing, is a saying divided in it selfe, and which my understanding knoweth not how to make to stand. But thus, God many times makes both tongues and pens which imagine evill against others, *so fall upon themselves*.

^a Psal. 64. 8.

6. And lastly, whereas he pretends the forementioned clause, *And if continued*, &c. guilty of *speaking aloud* and *without any straining*, the prenamed enormitie, the truth is, that this charge *speaks aloud* and *without any straining*, that Mr. Prymme loves all *devoiring words*^b, whether they be words of *soberness* and *truth*, or of another inspiration. Is it not very strange, and a miracles fellow (at least) if not a miracle, that Mr. Prymme hearing should be so predominant in the world, that he alone should heare a loud *speaking*, where all the world besides could not heare the least muttering or whisper? But when men have Brick to make, and want *straw*, they must bee content to *gather stubble* in stead of it^d. The builders of Babel were faine to make use of *slime* in stead of mortar^e. To *give signe* *transitory*, *as a shadow* *in the sport* *of time*, were a generation of men in *Plato's* dayes, &c. the line (it seems) is not yet extinct.

^b Psal. 52. 4.

^c AG.

^d Exod. 5. 12.

^e Gen. 11. 4.

Many other passages there are in this *Triumphing* discourse, wherein the author doth miserable carnifice other words and passages of mine; but *Cæsar's image* and *superscription* may bee seen in a *peny*^f, as well as in a pound.

^f Mat. 22. 19, 20.

But because the great Guerdon and Crown for which Mr. Prymme runnes in this and other his *lucubrations* against me, is to transform me into a man of a *raucous* and *disaffected* heart against *Parliament*^g, and to couple me with the worst *Malignants*, *Royalists*, *Cavaliers*,

^g Pag. 108.

Cavaliers, yea with the Arch-Prelate himself^a; before I leave the point in hand, I shall briefly specify, both what, in what degree I have done, and continue yet doing from opportunitie to opportunitie, to the utmost of my power, for the Parliament : and withall solemnly professe in the sight of God and men, that if either Mr. *Frynt*, or any other man, can direct or say unto me, how, or what, when, or wherein I may yet doe more for them, or shew and expresse more love or affectionatenesse unto them, then I have already done, and still doe (upon occasion) daily; provided onely that I may see and understand, that what shall be required of me in this kind, doth really and indeed, not in shew and pretence onely, tend to the benefit, honour and safetie of the Parliament; I am ready and willing, and doe by these presents oblige and bind my self, *Tesibus Calo & Terra*, to performe. I have once^b and againe^c in Print, with the utmost ingagement of my weak abilities in that kind, asserted the Parliamentary cause against the Oxfordian; yea (as far as I yet understand) I was the first amongst all my Brethren who serve at the Altar, that rose up in this kind, for the Parliament: with what exposall of my self to danger, on the one hand, and with what successe and advantage to the cause undertaken by me on the other, many there are that know, and (I make no question) are ready upon occasion to declare and testify. How frequently, yea for many moneths together, when the Parliamentarie occasions were most urging and pressing, (almost) uninterruptedly, and with what fervency and confession of spirit, I laboured by preaching to advance the service; yea with what alacrity and importunity, I continually solicited and promoted all Parliamentarie occasions, suits, and motions recommended by Ordinance or otherwise; was openly testified by a Member of that Honourable Committee before which I was called, *pending* the complaint against me there. How many young men and others, as faithfull as usefull in the Armie as any others of their rank and imployment whatsoever, what by preaching, what by conference and perswasion, were through the blessing of God, armed with courage and resolution by me for the warres, there are both in the Citie, and in the Armie, more then a few that can informe. Nor is it unknowne to thousands, with what contention and striving of spirit, with what earnestnesse of prayer and supplication I have without

^a Pag. 107.^b See my *Anti-Cavalierisme*.^c See my *Bone* for a Bishop.

* Epist. Dedic.
in fine.

* Mar. 12. 43.

* 2 Cor. 12. 11.

without ceasing in my publick prayers, commended the Parliament with all their proceedings and affaires unto God ; nor have my later intercessions for them, either in strength of affection, or in any other desirable respect whatsoever, given place unto my former. Without any disparagement to Mr. Prymme's Orisons * be it spoken, I may conjecture I have been both as frequent, and desired to be as fervent in commending that *Honourable Assembly with all their pious endeavours to the Divine Benediction*, as himself. As touching pecuniary expressions of my self to and for the Parliament, my affections may (perhaps) suffer losse and disadvantage in the thoughts of some, who measure by the Arithmetically, in stead of the Geometricall proportion (by which our Saviour measured the poore widows gift, cast into the treasury ^b, and every mans expressions of himself in this kind should be measured) yet I make no question but I can produce speaking papers, (yea and men too, if need be) that will abundantly testifie, that I have not been behind many of those who are before me for matter of estate, and who are look'd upon too as men sound-hearted to the Parliament. There hath no proposition for advance of moneys, been at any time recommended by the Parliament unto the Citie, that I know of, but hath been entertained by me with a full proportion of my estate. And look what I have been, and have appeared to be in publick, and in view of many; the same have I bin also in all my more private intercourses and colloques with men; strengthening the hands of some which began to be feeble and to hang downe, loosing the bands, resolving the doubts of others, so setting them at libertie to serve the Parliament, who before were bound up, and could doe nothing. Nor have I quitted my self at this rate in the Parliamentary service, in or about the Citie onely; but have been as diligent and faithfull an Agent for them in the Countrey also where I have become, and that not without some considerable successe. *I am a foole (I confesse)* to speak all this of my self: but Mr. Prymme hath compelled ^c me. If I be yet defective and wanting in any thing that is my dutie to doe for the Parliament, if there be any other service or labour of love wherein I may yet further expresse my self to, and for them; all the powers of my soule stand ready bent and prest within me to embrace the opportunitie, and to fall on upon the work. If for all this I must be numbred amongst men of *rancorous and disaffected hearts*

bears against the Parliament, I shall congratulate the felicitie of those that are better thought of; and yet shall think mine own the more Princely portion ². *Mala opinio bene pars a defecta*. A good conscience is never at the full of her sweetnesse, light, and glorie, but when uprightnesse suffers and is eclipsed: the antiperistasis of outward sufferings, intends the inward vigor and strength of that principle, out of which a good conscience acteth, when shee comforteth. If the affections of men to the Parliament, must be compell'd to hold up their hand and be tryed at Mr. Prymmer barre, and the Law ruling there be this, that whosoever will not adore Mr. Prymmer notion of an Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in the civill Magistrate, and submit the cleare and lightsome decisions (at least in the eye of their judgement & conscience) of the Oracles of God to the Spirit that spake in old Stories, Statutes and Records in the darkest times of Popery, though they have given never so satisfactory and abundant an account of the goodness of their affection in this kind otherwise, must be condemned and cast as *venenous Malignants and underminers of the undoubted priviledges of Parliaments, &c.* I confesse, that my affection will not abide the tryall of this fire. Nevertheless, this I solemnly promise and professe, that if Mr. Prymmer or any other, shall reasonably demonstrate unto me truth in either of these Positions; either 1. in this, that any thing is to be esteemed a Priviledge, which is not for the benefit, good, or safety of those that shall enjoy it; or 2. in this, that such an Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction or power, as Mr. Prymmer in all or most of his discourses upon this subject portraictures and sets out, tends in the nature and constitution of it, to the benefit, safety or good of the Parliament; I shall soone be his convert, and cause my present apprehensions in the point to bowe downe at the feet of his. This for the second head propounded.

For the third and last, the insufficiencie, or (to speak the dialect of his own pen) the *impotencie*, of those few exceptions which he makes against some few particulars in my *Innocencies Triumph*, such as he conceives (it seems) to be more soft and tractable under his exceptionous pen. First, to salve a sore that will never be perfectly healed, to justifie (I meane) his Indictment against me, that I did not only or simply *undermine the undoubted priviledges of Parliaments by the very roots*, (this being not a charge, as it seems, worthy the indig-

² *Regum est
male audire,
cum bene fecerit.*

indignation or discontent of Mr. Prynne's pen) but that I perpetrated this high misdemeanour **PRESUMPTUOUSLY**; he informes us as matter of high concernment to his cause and honour, that *Grammarians, Lawyers, and Divines informe us, that the word, Presumptuous, comes from the verb, Presumo*: which verb he *presumes* will accommodate him with one or other of those various significations, which with great care and circumspection that none be wanting, he there musters and enumerates. And because the honour and validitie of this his purgation rests altogether upon such significations or acceptions of his verb, as are most mens mysteries; therefore in his margin he calls in *Thomas Aquinas, Calepine*, with some others, for his compurgators. But

Good Sir; did you either expect or intend, that either the Parliament or your other readers, should be so above measure tender either of your reputation or of mine, as that meeting with the word **PRESUMPTUOUSLY** in your indictment against me, they would goe and search *Calepine, Thomas Aquinas, Holy-oake, Media-villa*, and I know not how many more, to informe themselves in how many senses or significations the word might be taken, lest otherwise they should take you tardy with an unjust crimination, or me with a foule crime? What you may conceive them likely to doe in this kind out of tendernesse of respect to your reputation, I will not prejudge: but to deale plainly with you, I expect no such quarter from any of your Readers, for the preservation of mine. They that have a mind to beleieve you in that point of your charge, (yea and indeed any other, considering other expressions of yours of the like importance) are like to take the word *Presumptuously*, according to the vulgar and most familiar signification of it in *common parlance*, and that which is next at hand: in which signification, it doth nothing lesse then import all that varietie you speak of, but a *plaine wilfull* (as your word elsewhere is) *perpetration of an evill*; and as for the three last significations which you fasten upon it, as that it signifies, *against Authoritie, or Lawes, or upon hopes of impunitie*; though I have not the Authors by me upon whom you father the *proprietie* of these significations, to examine the truth of what in this you affirme; yet am I very strong of Faith, that men of learning and judgement (as most of the Authors you cite were) never assigned any of these three senses or importances, as the pro-

per and legitimate acceptions or significations of the word. When John the Baptist told Herod (a man in great *Authoritie*) to his face, that it was not lawfull for him to have Herodias his Brother Philips wife^a, was this done PRESUMPTUOUSLY, especially in the proper signification of the word? Again, when Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego refus'd to submit to that Decree or Law which Nebuchadnezzar and his Nobles had made, which commanded all to fall downe and worship the golden image which the King had set up^b; and so when Daniel transgress'd that Law or Statute which Darius and his Nobles had decreed and established according to the Law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not^c by kneeling upon his knees three times a day, praying unto, and praising God, with his chamber-window open towards Jerusalem; did either of these sin, or doe any thing (under the Interpretation aforesaid) PRESUMPTUOUSLY? Mr. Prymme himself (I presume) dedicated these his *Lacubrations* to the Parliament, upon hopes, yea upon more then hopes of impunity, upon hopes of Grace and Acceptation: hath he therefore done PRESUMPTUOUSLY? I am content in this sense to own the word PRESUMPTUOUSLY, in my prementioned charge; and confesse that I did that, which he (calling it quite out of its name) calls an *undermining of the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament, &c.* PRESUMPTUOUSLY. I did upon hopes, yea and somewhat more then upon hopes of impunity, upon hopes of acceptance both with God and men. And if Mr. Prymme would have pleas'd but to have declar'd in his margent or otherwise, that in the aforesaid indictment he meant the word, PRESUMPTUOUSLY, in this sense, and no other, he had saved me a double, and himself a single labour, (if not a double also) for I should not have lift up so much as a word of exception against it.

But let us see a little, how like a man he quits himself in vindicating the truth and equitie of his so-dearly-beloved terme, PRESUMPTUOUSLY, as it stands, or lies, (which you will) in the controverted indictment. His first signification of the verb *PRÆSUMO*, is to *forefall*; and to prove that in this sense of the word, I committed the capitall crime objected PRESUMPTUOUSLY, he reasons, or rather talks, thus. *First you preached and printed those passages of purpose to forefall the Parliament's and Assemblies pious resolutions, &c.* But Mr. Prymme, there is a rule in the civill law (and

because there is so much reason in it, I conceive your Common Law complies with it) which sounds thus ; *Non esse, & non appere, equiparatur in Jure*. How will you doe for witnesses, or evidences competent in Law, to make it appeare that *I printed and preached the passages you speak of, for such a purpose as you pretend ?* can you find the present thoughts or purposes of all particular men in this age, in the ancient Records which beare date, from the darkest times of Popery ? Or hath the Omniscient anointed your eyes with any such eye-salve, which makes you able to see into the hearts and reins and spirits of men ? or have I acknowledged either in writing or otherwise, any such intent or purpose as you speak of, in those passages ? or is it beyond the upper region of possibilities, that I should have any other purpose in them, then what you as-
 firme ? When you print, that *I printed the passages you mention of purpose to forestall the pious resolutions of the Parliament ;* doe you print this *OF PURPOSE* to forestall the pious inclinations or resolutions of the Parliament, not to make more offenders by punishment, then were made such before by delinquencie ? Or when you printed, that *Christ hath delegated his Kingly Office unto Kings, Magistrates, and highest civill powers,* did you print it of purpose to make them think that they had as much power and Authoritie to make Lawes for his Churches, as Christ himself hath ? Such affirmations and right-downe conclusions as these, are worfe then the most uncharitable, unchristian, detestable, execrable, groundlesse, fanatique jealousies ^b.

* Full Reply
 pag. 7. circa
 initium.

^b Pag. 108.

The second signification of the auxiliarie verb, *PRÆSUMO*, is (as Mr. Prynne from his Authors, or otherwise, informs us) to conceive before-hand: and to prove that in this sense I trespassed the trespassse of his complaint, *PRÆSUMPTUOUSLY*, he advanceth with this demonstration. 2. To establish and support that Independent way which you had before-hand without any lawfull warrant conceived, ere the Parliament had made choyce of, or settled any Church-Government for them, &c. But good Sir, hath no man a lawfull warrant to consider, inquire after, (and consequently, to conceive) what Christ hath established in point of Church-Government, untill the Parliament hath made choyce of, or settled such a Government ? Every man hath warrant enough, yea and that which is more then a warrant, an engagement by way of dutie lying upon him ; especially Divines (as you

you call them) whose particular calling and profession it is to search the Scriptures, and to discover the mind of Christ there, to conceive before-hand, if they be able, what tenour or forme of Church-Government is most agreeable to the mind of Christ; and not to suspend their studies, inquiries, *conceptions* in that kinde, untill men have fram'd their conceptions or apprehensions for them. The Parliament had *not* made choice of, nor settled any Church-Government for Mr. Edwards, when he compos'd and printed his Antapologie? Did he therefore PRESUMPTUOUSLY, to conceive it before-hand, and so peremptorily conclude for it as he hath done? Whether yet they have made choice of any, or no, I cannot say; I have no demonstrative grounds to think they have: but certain I am that they as yet have settled none, and so are still at libertie to choose another, in case they have chosen any. Hath not Mr. Prym then done PRESUMPTUOUSLY, to conceive a Government before-hand, and to print for it, the Parliament as yet having chosen none, or however, settled none? If Mr. Prym being a Lawyer, had a lawfull warrant to conceive a Church-Government before-hand, as he hath done, Church-matters being eccentricall to his profession; much more hath he that is a Divine, and nevertheless because he is a meere one. Neither can the five Apolog. be said to have done this first, because they rather shew their own practise and desire libertie therein, then peremptorily, (as some others) prescribe to others under the notion of schismatiques and troublers of the publick peace; if they be not of their minds in all things, about what they practise and professe, as (in their judgements) most agreeable to the truth.

A third signification of the verb we wot of, is according to Mr. Prymes Lexicographie, to *usurp or take that upon a man which belongs not to him.* And to prove that in this sense also, I am a Son of PRESUMPTION in the transgression voted by Mr. Prymes perupon me, he riseth up higher then yet in this insulting strain: *It was no lesse then high PRESUMPTION in you, being a meere Divine, and a man altogether ignorant of, or unskillfull in the ancient Rights and Priviledges of our Parliament (as your writings demonstrate, and your self intimate, p. 5.) to undertake and judge of them so peremptorily. When as if you had knowne any thing concerning them, you might have learned this among other things, that Divines are no competent Judges of Parliament's priviledges: that the Priviledges, Rights and Customes*

of our Parliaments, are onely to be judged and determined by the Parliament it selfe, not in or by any other inferiour Court, &c. In this passage there are some things true, and some things false; and both the one and the other make aloud and without straining, against the Author, and neither of them against me at all. For,

^a Full Reply
in the very
last clause.

^b Δοκῆ δὲ αὐ-
τῶν ἐστὶν τὰ
ἐν τῇ δὲ αὐ-
τοκρατορίᾳ
ἐστὶν. Arist. E-
thic. ad Nicom.
l. 3. c. 1.

1. If I be a man altogether ignorant of the ancient rights and privileges of Parliament, how come I to be charged, as a wilfull underminer or violator of them^a? Ignorance though it bee good for little, but to cause men to stumble and doe amisse; yet it is (for the most part) a preserver of men from offending wilfully, (how ever it selfe may be a wilfull offence. Those things (saith Aristotle) appeare to bee involuntary, or unwillingly done, which are done either by externall compulsion, or out of ignorance. If I judge Mr. Prynne ignorant of that government which the Scriptures hold forth, I cannot reasonably judge him a wilfull opposer of it.

2. If the Privileges, Rights and Customes of our Parliaments, be onely to be judged and determined by the Parliament it selfe, and not in or by any other inferiour Court, how comes Mr. Prynne by his authority or commission to judge and determine, that I have wilfully violated, presumptuously undermined the undoubted privileges of Parliament, by the very roots^b? Surely he hath not the power which an inferiour Court of Judicature hath, much lesse is he the Parliament it selfe: and yet he undertakes to judge and determine, & that positively and negatively, (which I doe not) not onely the privileges themselves of Parliament, but the very roots also of these privileges. If according to his own assertion, he hath no power or authority to judge or determine of the privileges we speak of, why doth he judge and censure me as a PRESUMPTUOUS underminer and violator of these privileges? Can any man reasonably passe a sentence against another as a delinquent in such and such cases, when as the cases themselves are not of his cognizance, nor lawfull for him to judge of?

3. If the Privileges and Rights of our Parliament bee onely to be judged by the Parliament it selfe, upon what Christian or indeed reasonable foundation, shall we avouch the taking of the late Nationall Vow and Covenant, wherein with our hands lifted up to the most high God (among other things) we sweare, that we would sincerely, really, and constantly, in our severall vocations, endeavour with our estates, and lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of Parlia-
Parlia-^a

Parliament, &c. Did we sweare in this most tremend and solemne manner, to preserve those things, not onely that wee know not what they are, but which it is not lawfull for us to enquire after, at least, not to judge and say what they are after our most diligent and faithfull enquiry after them? If before the taking of this covenant, I had conceived, that whatsoever Mr. Prymme should please to avouch for Privilege of Parliament, I should have stood bound by the covenant taken, *to maintain with my estate and life*, for such; I should rather have exposed both to the mercy and equity of the Parliament by refusing it, then both these and my selfe besides, to the displeasure of God, by such an unchristian, yea unreasonable and unmanlike action. Besides, Parliament privileges are either fundamentall, generall, and common Rights of all nationall Bodies, or else peculiar to this State; and so also they are either such as are by their constant practice commonly declared, or else more reserved for occasional emergencies. The two former are obvious to judge of; and the latter also apprehensible upon their discovery of them, especially with their grounds, else how could they have been assisted in the defence of them all this time?

4. Whereas he vilifies, or insults over me as being *a meere Divine*, I confesse I have not much to except against the disparagement; yet I desire leave to speak these three things. 1. That if Mr. Prymme himselfe had been *a meere Divine*, he had chosen the better part: and if he yet knew how to transforme the skill which he hath in the Law, into a like proportion of sound *Divinity*, he and the Church should gain by it; so great plenty is there of good Lawyers, and so few faithfull labourers in Gods harvest.

2. Though I pretend to no great knowledge in any other Science, but to that which is the glory of all the rest (*Divinity* I mean) no nor yet to one halfe of that knowledge in this, which my years and opportunities, had not I been a sonne of folly and infirmities above many, might well have furnished me with; yet can I not with truth yeeld my selfe *so meere a Divine*, as not to understand many Principles and Maximes of reason, besides those which I have learned from the Scriptures; As that every whole is more then any part of it: That no effect can possibly exceed the vertue or efficacy of the totall cause thereof: That one part of any contradiction is verifiable of every thing: That the good of many other circumstances being

being alike, is to be preferred before the like good of one, or of a few: with many others of affinity with these. By the authority and aid of which alone, without the concurrence or assistance of any Principle at all, proper to the Science of Divinity, I know (God assisting) I am able to make good the ground which I have chosen to stand upon in the controversies depending between Mr. Prynne and me. Yea, I should injure mine own ignorance and weaknesse, and censure them too deep, if I should deny but that I know somewhat in other Arts and Sciences also.

3. And lastly, if I be a *meer Divine*, I remember I have read some such observation as this for my comfort, that when the streame of endeavours is divided, the waters of knowledge run but shallow in a plurality of channels, *Η' ὅταν ποταμὸς ἐν πολλοῖς ἐστί.* But

5. Whereas he lifts up this Iron mace on high, and thinks to break all in peeces like a *potter's vessell*, that I have either said, or ever shall be able to say, to escape the push of his pike, PRESUMPTUOUSLY, wherewith he makes at me in the pre-recited charge, that *Divines are no competent Judges of Parliaments privileges*; and that therefore it was no lesse then PRESUMPTION, nay then PRESUMPTION upon PRESUMPTION, then high PRESUMPTION for me being a *meer Divine*, and a man altogether ignorant in the ancient Rights and Privileges of our Parliaments, to undertake to determine and judge of them so peremptorily, &c. I answer.

1. If I had been altogether ignorant of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, I was not so capable of ingaging my selfe by that solemne vow, which is now upon me, for the maintaining of them sincerely, really, constantly, &c. For though a man may indefinitely swear to maintain the just rights of such or such a Body, though he know them not all distinctly, yet that he may swear in judgement, it is requisite he be not altogether ignorant of them. So that if Mr. Prynnes doctrine in this point be true, it is more then time for me to flie from my Covenant, as from a Serpent, and to abhorre my selfe in dust and ashes before the presence of God, that ever I took it. But blessed be God, my ignorance of the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments, is not such, but that I know many of them: These by name (questionlesse) are some of them; To bee the Sovereigne Tribunal, and supreme Judicatory in the Kingdome: To have a

Legisla-

Legislative power in civill affaires in respect of the whole Kingdome: To have a power of discharging or repealing all former Lawes and Statutes that are found inconvenient for the State and Kingdome: To dispose of the Militia of the Kingdom, for the safety and best advantage thereof: To impose Rates and Taxes of money for the necessary occasions of the Kingdome; to call even the greatest Delinquents in the Kingdom to account, and to inflict punishments upon them according to the nature of their crimes: To defend, protect, and encourage, and that with an higher hand then others can doe, those that doe well, and live peaceably, and are serviceable in their callings and imployments to the State. Besides many others like unto the Starres in the Firmament of heaven, which cannot be numbred.

2. Whereas Mr. Prynne to make light of darknesse, and to cover the shame of his darling (PRESUMPTUOUSLY) with honor, thrusts Divines out of doors, as no competent judges of Parliaments privileges, he must know from a meer Divine (if there be any place left in him for an addition in that kind, and *intus apparet* doth not *prohibere alienum*, with too strong an hand) that Divines in one respect, & that of soveraigne consideration, are Judges of a better & more regular competence of such things, then Lawyers are, (without prejudice to that profession be it spoken) yea & the meer Divine (in M. Prynns sense) the more competent Judge in this kind, as the meer Physitian a more competent Judge of medicines then others. There is a double judgement or dijudication of Parliament Privileges: the one positive or affirmative, the other privative or negative. The positive or affirmative judgement wee speake of, consists in a faculty or ability of discerning what really and indeed are the Privileges of Parliament: the judgement which I call negative, consists in the like faculty or ability of discerning, what are not. For this is a most certain and undoubted Maxime, That nothing that is sinfull, or contrary to the will and word of God, can possibly be a privilege of Parliament. The reason whereof is plain: Nothing that in the nature and direct tendencie of it, is dishonourable or destructive to a creature, can possibly bee any privilege thereof. Now whatsoever is sinfull, and displeasing unto God, is in the nature and direct tendencie of it, dishonourable and destructive to the creature, as the whole renour of the Scriptures (almost) yea and the impressions of naturall light and conscience in
all

^a Rom. 7.7.

^b 1 Ioh. 3.4.

all men, doe abundantly confirme. *Ergo*. So then the Scriptures or word of God being the Standard or supreme Rule whereby to judge what is sinfull, and consequently destructive to the creature, and what not; evident it is, that they who reasonably may be presum'd to have the best knowledge and soundest understanding in these, are the most competent Judges (from amongst men) in all cases and questions, about what is sinfull, and what not. And whether *meere* Lawyers, or *meere Divines*, may with more reason be presum'd to be men of this interest; let either Lawyers themselves, or Divines, or who ever wil, judge. *I had not knowne sinne* (saith the Apostle ^a) *but by the Law*: He speaks of the Law of God, not of any law of men. And another Apostle to like purpose: *Who soever committeth sinne, transgresseth also the Law*: for *sinne is the transgression of the Law* ^b; speaking as the other did, onely of the Law of God. Now howsoever Mr. Prymme *meere Divines* cannot reasonably bee supposed to have spent so much of their time in traversing and reading over the ancient Records of Parliamentary transactions, as Lawyers have, nor consequently to be so able or ready as they, to tell Stories in this kind, of what Parliaments formerly have done; yet when any case of conscience, or question ariseth, about such and such customes or passages in Parliaments, (call them *Rights*, *Privileges*, or what you will) whether they were lawfull in point of conscience, and justifiable in the sight of God, or no, the *meere* Lawyer with his bookes and records, must stand by, as having neither *part nor fellowship* in this Judicature; the *meere Divine* is the onely competent Judge in the case; yea, and this is confirmed by Parliaments themselves, who have decreed that in some Courts and Cases, Clergy-men, as some call them, should sit, and was the custome till very lately in *London* it selfe, the Bishop usually and by right sitting at the Sessions of life and death; yea, and in case of life, if the Clergyman saith, *Legit ut Clericus*, the Law saves the man. And if Mr. Prymme conceives, that all customes or Presidents of Parliaments will make *Privileges* of Parliament, I conceive the present Parliament will abhorre his conception; many of them being onely matter of sorrow, shame and caution, not of *Privilege* or example. So then to deale clearly and unpartially between Lawyers and Divines, touching their respective abilities and interests for discerning and judging of the *Customes, Rights and Privileges* (so called)

called) of *Parliaments*; The *Lawyers* interest and facultie (if he be a Master in his profession) as such (I mean as a *meere Lawyer*) is to collect, draw together, and present to view, all, and all manner of Parliamentary transactions, passages, statutes, customes, presidents, &c. good and bad, one with another, without distinction, out of their respective Records: but the interest and faculty of the *Divine* (if he be a man worthy his profession) is to survey this collection presented unto him, to consider whether there be nothing in them contrary to the will and mind of God declared in his Word: (which contrariety dissolves the authority and interest of any *Statute, Custome, President, whatsoever*) and so to separate the vile from the precious ^a, that which hath a consistence with the word of God, from that which opposeth and contradicth it. The entire series or story of Parliamentary passages, is like the *Polypus* head, wherein there are observed to be πολλά καὶ ἰσθλα' μαμίζματα, πολλά δὲ λυγρὰ, many good things, and many bad; the *Statutes of Moses*, and the *Statutes of Omri*, the manner of the house of *David*, and the manner of the house of *Ahab*, are intermixed and wrapped up together there. Now alas, with the *meere Lawyer* (I speak of him, as such, and not as Christian or godly) all is fish that comes to net, all this Congregation is holy, even every one of them ^b; every Statute without exception, if unrepeal'd on earth, though nullified in heaven before it was made, is still valid, and good in Law; every custome, without difference, an undoubted privilege of Parliament: every passage a sufficient president for after-imitation, the *Statutes of Omri* as good for his turn, and in his eye, as the *Statutes of Moses*: the manner of the house of *Ahab*, as laudable as the manner of the house of *David*, or of the house of God himselfe: as is the good, so is the bad, (to him) the Statute that curseth, as that which blesteth a Land. All this is evident from that voluminous coacervation of old matters, passages, presidents, &c. by Mr. *Prynne* himselfe in the former part of this discourse, many of them (as himselfe intimates ^c) fetch'd out of the darkest times of Popery, and highest ruff of Pope, of Prelates: and yet thinkes that these are enough to evill and convince me and all the world besides, that I have not only violated, but denied, oppugned the privileges of Parliament in Ecclesiasticall affairs ^d. In the case last presented, except the *Divine* shall come with his fire from heaven, to separate

^a Ierem. 15. 19^b Numb. 16. 3.^c Pag. 105. 1.
9. 10.^d Pag. 110. in
fisc.

and purge the Tinnie from the Silver, and the Drosse from the Gold, and be as the mouth of the Lord to take away the vile from the precious; that *enmity* unto God, and that unrighteousnesse which cleaveth, and is like to cleave (notwithstanding all that the *meere Lawyer* is able to doe by way of reliefe) unto many the Lawes and Statutes of a State or Kingdome, is like to be first an heauey scourge, and rods of Scorpions, for the punishment of the State; and in fine, the utter ruine and destruction of it. *Tὸ ὑποβιβάζειν τὴν συνέχου, οὐδὲν ἔστι* (saith the Apostle ^b) i. *the wisdom of the flesh is death*: The reason whereof he gives in the next verse, which is this, *because the wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God*. So that wheresoever there is any *enmity against God*, especially if it utters it selfe in any the consultations, acts, or results of *the wisdom of the flesh*, it disposeth the subject wherein it is found, whether it be Person, Family, State, or Kingdome, unto *death*. And whether this *enmity against God* which wee speake of, found in some of our lawes & statutes yet unrepeal'd (if not in more then is generally observed and knowne) hath not made God an enemy unto us, and strengthened the arm of his displeasure and indignation against us, I leave to Divines of sound judgement and conscience, to consider: yea and to such Lawyers who have sanctified their profession with the sound knowledge of the word of God and prayer.

By what hath been argued in this last passage, evident it is, that the skill, faculty, and interest of the Divine, (yea of the *meere Divine*) to discern and judge of the *customs, rights, privileges of Parliament*, is farre more usefull and necessary, then that of the *meere Lawyer*. The reason is plaine; because there is no manner of doubt or question to be made, but that whatsoever is not sinfull & prohibited by the word of God for them to doe, is an undoubted *privilege of Parliament*, without the authority or contribution of former passages or records: and on the contrary, whatsoever is sinfull and displeasing unto God, can never make *privilege*, as hath been already argued and proved. Now then the faculty or skill of the Lawyer, at such extending it self only to the acquisition and mustering together former transactions, passages and records of Parliament, or at most to assist in the literall explanation or interpretation of them; but matter of fact, and what is lawfull by the law of God, belonging properly to the cognizance of the Divine, it is

as evident as evidence it self in her highest exaltation can make it, that *Divines* are more usefull, necessary, yea and competent *Judges* (in the sense declared) of Parliamentary Priviledges, then *Lawyers* are: Notwithstanding

To the last recited passage I answer 3. and lastly; that whereas my Adversary chargeth me, to have *determined and judged of the ancient Rights and Priviledges of our Parliaments so peremptorily, &c.* that this charge is like all or most of the rest, undue, untrue; I do not meddle with any *ancient Right or Priviledge of Parliament*; I onely argue and work upon the Principles of mine own Profession, the *Scriptures and Word of God*: if these in their naturall and proper inclination, ducture, and tendencie, lead me to any such position or conclusion, which enters into with something which Mr. Prynne will needs call an *ancient Right or Priviledge of Parliament*, it is merely accidentall, and which I cannot with my Allegiance to Heaven, nor otherwise then at the utmost perill of my soule, no nor without a finfull prevarication with that dutie which I owe to the State I live in, decline. And therefore whereas

The 4th signification which the Gentleman finds of the verb *Presumo* (to save the miscarriage of his pen, in the word, *PRESUMPTUOSUS*) is to *doe a thing before a man be lawfully called to it*, and hereupon tells me that I had no lawfull calling or warrant from *Gods Word or our Lawes* to handle the Jurisdictions and rights of *Parliament in my Pulpit, &c.* and concludes against me without bayle or mainprize, that in this I was *PRESUMPTUOUS* by the *Scriptures owne definition*, 2 Pet. 2. 10. I answer,

1. That the Apostle *Peter* in the place cited, gives no definition at all, of the word, *Presumptuous*, but onely speaks of a wicked generation of men, *who walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleannesse, and despise Government, presumptuous, self-willed, and they are not afraid to speak evill of dignities.* Can a man gather any definition of *Presumption*, or of a *Presumptuous man*, from hence? When the Apostle *Paul* confesseth himself to have been a *Blasphemer, Persecutor, &c.* doth he give any definition of either? I had rather Mr. Prynne should call me a *Presumptuous man* a thousand times over, then that he should be able once to prove it out of any definition of *St. Peter*. The *Scriptures* which Mr. Prynne still citeth, are acknowledged to be very good; but he employeth them against their wills; and so their

^a 1 Tim. 1. 13.

goodnesse and his purpose, doe not greet or kisse each other. But

2. Whereas he tells me *I had no warrant from Gods Word, or our Lawes to handle the Jurisdictions or rights of Parliament in my Pulpit, &c.* I first demand what *warrant from Gods Word or our Lawes* hath he, thus to caluminate a Minister of the Gospel, onely for his faithfulness to God and men; to wring, wrest, and wiew-draw his words and sayings, as he hath done these ten times (at least) in this and his other writings? I shall have my warrant, and that Authentique enough, to shew for what I have done, when his will be to seek for what he hath done, and (that which is worse) will no where be found. As for his charge, that *I handle the Jurisdictions and rights of Parliament in my Pulpit, &c.* it is but a dead corps of an accusation, without any life or soule of Truth in it at all; and may well be reputed free of the company of his other not more soule then false criminations. I never handled any such theame or subject in my Pulpit as he talks of, except it were in pleading the justnesse of their cause in the present warres, against the determinations of the Oxford Schooles. I trust Mr. Pryme will forgive me this offence. But

3. If by *handling the rights and Jurisdictions of Parliaments*, he means those passages wherein I argued against the lawfulness of submitting unto any Government from men, except it be agreeable also to the Word of God, and mind of Christ; or against any lawfulness of power in any civill Magistrate or Magistracie whatsoever, to make any such Lawes or Statutes in matters of Religion, and which concerne the worship of God, whereunto the servants of God shall stand bound under mulcts and penalties to submit, whether they can *with a good conscience* submit unto them, or no; if this be the tenor of my charge, I answer, that *I have warrant* both from the Law of God, and from the Laws of the Land also, as farre as I understand them, (and I hope I understand them sufficiently in this) to doe whatsoever I have herein done. The warrant of a Law, (whether we speak of the Law of God, or of the Law of men) for an action, doth not stand onely in a positive or expresse injunction, or declaration in the Law, that such or such an action, either must, or may be done: but also in the totall silence of the Law, (directly and by evident consequence) as touching any restraint or prohibition of the action. It is true, the totall silence of humane

Lawes

Lawes concerning many actions, doth not simply and absolutely warrant them for lawfull or good, (though this be true concerning the Divine Law) but it warrants them sufficiently against any crime imputable, against any censure or punishment inflexible by the Authoritie of such Lawes. *Where no Law is* (saith the Apostle^a) *there is no transgression.* So then, if amongst all the Laws and Statutes of the Land, there be no one Law or Statute to be found, which prohibiteth or restraineth a Minister of the Gospel from declaring and making known *the whole counsell of God*^b unto men, (of which wretched import I know none, yea I am securely confident that there is none) then have I warrant sufficient, in respect of our *Laws*, both to *preach* and *print* whatsoever I have done either in the one or in the other, in the passages aforesaid: because in them I have neither *preached* nor *printed* any thing, but what is part of the *counsell of God*, as I have abundantly manifested & made good, in severall tracts, especially in that which was last published^c, against all opposition and counter-reasonings whatsoever.

As for *the word of God*, I have not onely a warrant from thence, to doe all that I did in the premises, but (that which is more then a warrant, in the sense specified) precept upon precept, injunction upon injunction, command upon command: yea I stand here most deeply and dreadfully charged, as I will answer it at the great and terrible day, *when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mightie Angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ*^d, to doe that which I did in the passages excepted against. I charge thee therefore (saith the Apostle to Timothy, a Minister of the Gospel) before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and his Kingdome: *Preach the Word: be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and Doctrine. For*^e, &c. Peruse the other Scriptures presented unto you in the margin^f; behold, they lift up their voyces together, calling, crying out amaine for all diligence, faithfulness, zeale, undauntedness of courage and resolution in those who are entrusted with that great dispensation of the mind and counsell of God in the behalf of the world, in the discharge of this most high and honourable trust committed unto them. And therefore for Mr. Prynne to charge me with *boldnesse, daringnesse, andaciousnesse*, &c. for sticking

^a Rom. 4. 15^b A& 20. 27;^c Innocencie and Truth triumphing together.^d 2 The 1. 7, 8.^e 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2.^f Ezek. 3. 10,

11. 18, 19, 20.

Jer. 1. 17.

Esa. 58. 1.

Mat. 10. 27, 28

A& 4. 19, 20.

& 20. 24, 25,

26, 27.

Rom. 12. 6.

1 Pet. 4. 10, 11.

1 Cor. 9. 16.

Tit. 1. 9.

& 3. 15, &c.

ing to, standing by, and maintaining what I have said and done out of faithfulness both unto God and men, and according to the true tenor and intent of my Commission from Heaven; is as childish and weak, as if I should charge him with *boldnesse, daringnesse, audaciousnesse*, for eating his bread, or pleading the righteous cause of his honest client. He mistakes his mark day and way, if he thinks either to (rayle I might truly say, or) threaten me out of the way and course of my dutie, by his great words. *Through Christ strenghtning me*, it is as easie for me to beare all his unjust and *hard sayings*, as it is for him to speak them: to stand under, and carry the greatest burthen of infamie and reproach, as it is for him to lay it on; yea to suffer the worst and hardest of sufferings, as it is for him to procure them. He that cannot *taxomadien*, and that at any rate whatsoever, will never make good Souldier indeed for Jesus Christ. His pen (I hope) you see, hath not prospered hitherto, in pleading the cause of his client, PRESUMPTUOUSLY: he cannot finde any one signification of the word, that will stick or fasten.

The fift and last signification, which he insists upon, is this. The verb ye wot of, *PRÆSUMO*, yet further signifies, *to doe a thing boldly, confidently, or rashly, without good grounds, &c.* To help himself at the dead lift he is now at, by this signification of his verb, he sets on thus; *After you were questioned before a Committee of Parliament for those very passages in your first Sermon, as exceeding scandalous and derogatory to the Members and Priviledges of Parliament, yet you in a daring manner, whilst you were under examination, audaciously preached over the same againe for substance in your Pulpit on a solemn Fast day, and published them with additions in no lesse then two printed books: yea since your very censure by the Committee for them, you have in a higher straine then ever gone on to justify them in print once more, in your Innocencies Triumph (like an incorrigible Delinquent) wherein you slander the Parliament more then before, &c.* Where before I answer, observe 1. That the signification here insisted upon, is lower then the charge; it signifies *to doe boldly, &c.* but his charge is, that I did it presumptuously. 2. In this great Muster-roll of the severall significations of his verb *Presumo*, he passes over, and forgets to list the common or generall acceptation of the word, as it is usually taken amongst us, and as any Author that writes English uses to be understood; viz. for a wilfull and high-handed commission of some wicked thing. But for answer;

1. What

1. What Logick is there in all this Rhetorick to prove, that what I did in the passages under contest, I did *justly* or *without good grounds*? Here is nothing so much as in pretence (in reality no where else) to disable those grounds upon which those passages stand.

2. How unkindly he deales with the truth, in affirming, 1. *That I preached over the same again for substance on a solemn Fast day.* 2. *That I published them with additions in no lesse then two printed books, whilst I was under examination;* hath been already presented to view towards the beginning of this Discourse. And here wee have yet more (besides these) *ejusdem farinae*, (*seu potius, fisoraria*) as 1. *That the passages in my first Sermon were exceeding scandalous, and derogatory to the members and privileges of Parliament:* There hath been nothing yet proved, nor (I beleeve) ever will or can be proved, that there was any thing in this Sermon, not only not exceeding scandalous and derogatory, &c. but not scandalous or derogatory in the least or lightest manner or degree either to any member, or any privilege of Parliament whatsoever. 2. *That since my very censure by the Committee for them, I have gone on to justify them in an HIGHER STRAIN then ever, in my Innocencies Triumph.* Mr. Pryme I see is no Astronomer, to take the altitude or elevation of a strain in Rhetorick; if he were, he would be ashamed of this calculation, that in my *Innocencies Triumph* I justify my passages in a HIGHER STRAINE then ever. Whosoever reads this little peece, cannot lightly but see and confesse, that all along I creep as neere the ground as any man (lightly) can goe. 3. *That in my said Innocencies Triumph I slander the Parliament more then before.* Here wee have untruth upon untruth, position upon supposition, and both vanity. For this assertion 1. supposeth, that I had slandered the Parliament before, (wherein I am certain Mr. Pryme slanders me:) And 2.^d affirmeth, that I slander it a second time more then I did before. If he had contented himself only to have said, that in my *Innocencies Triumph* I slander the Parliament as much as I did before, he had spoke a kind of truth, though of very slender importance. 4. *That I was censured by the Committee for the passages in my Sermon.* If by censured he means *sequestred* (as by the tenor of all he writes concerning me in this discourse, it should seem he doth) granting the truth of the act or censure it self (which yet to me is very questionable, upon the reasons.

sons formerly mentioned) yet I cannot beleeve but that Mr. Prynne pen faulters in assigning the grounds or reasons of the censure. It will not enter into me, to conceive a thought so dishonorable to that honorable Committee, as that they should *suspend* or *sequester* a Minister of Jesus Christ, who hath in all things from the first to the last, approved himselfe faithfull unto them, and to that honorable cause wherein they are engaged, for preaching his judgement and conscience in a point of doctrine, having such substantall and weighty grounds both from the Scriptures themselves, and otherwise, (which I then in part accounted unto them, and am still ready to perfect the account, if called to it) to conceive and judge is none other but the very truth of God.

^a Pag. 107.
circa medium.

^b Act. 4. 18.
20.

3. And lastly, whereas he brands me for an *incorrigible Delinquent*, and elsewhere for one *impenitent after censure* ^a. I answer and confesse, 1. That I am *incorrigible* indeed, by a crooked rule, as the Apostles themselves were, when being charged and commanded by a whole Councell, *not to speak at all, or teach in the Name of Jesus*, they notwithstanding professed, that *they could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard* ^b. Rectitude is alwayes unrectifiable, i. *incorrigible*: And 2. I answer and confesse yet further, that I am *impenitent* also in respect of that wherein I know no unrighteousnes, or sin. The truth is, I am conscious to my self of too many finnes and failings in my selfe, to cast away my *Repentance* upon such things as need it not. If I can find repentance for all my finnes, I shall leave all my other actions to be lamented and mourned over by the world. If Mr. Prynne will indict me for such *incorrigiblenesse* and *impenitency* as these, so be it: I know the great Judge of heaven and earth will acquit me. And thus you see that Mr. Pryn still stands as a man convicted of an unrighteous charge in the word PRESUMPTUOUSLY; *heret lateri lethalis arundo*: the arrow sticks still in his sides, and all his wrigling and wrestling, and pulling, cannot get it out.

His last charge and contest against me in this peece, is, that the *Authors which I cite to justify my selfe, are miserably wrested and mistaken for the most part*. The common saying is, That it's ill halting before a creeple; The Proverb seems to import some dexterousnes of faculty in him that halts continually, to take those tardy who onely counterfeite, and doe that by way of designe, which himselfe
doth

doth out of necessitie. The truth is, though Mr. *Prynne* may reasonably be conceived to have a more sagacious facultie then other men, of taking those wth the very manner, who wrest *Authors* and mistake their meaning, as being a man so familiarly exercised in the practise himself (I speak of his writings against my self) yet either his skill fails him, or his will stands too fast by him, in the sentence pronounced against me in this kind; as will appear presently. In the mean while, I cannot but take notice of that expression, *mistaken for the most part*, as an expression of the greatest caution and care, that (to my best remembrance) I have met with in all that he hath written against me. It is very rare to find any of his uncharitable assertions concerning me, at all bridled or corrected with any allay of any diminutive, lenitive, limitation or restraint: but the saying (I remember) is, that he goes farre, that never returns. But let us hearken unto his complaint of the behalf of those *Authors*, whom he so bewaileth, as being miserably wrested by me.

The first is his Friend Mr. *Edwards*, from whose *unanswerable* piece of Presbyterie, I cite this passage, *The Parliament interposeth no Authority to determine what Government shall be;* a *Epist. Dedie,* gather upon it thus; *therefore his opinion APPEARS to be* (not, as Mr. *Prynne*, whose pen I see loves to play at small game in mis-reports, rather then sit out, recites it soon after; *Therefore his opinion is*) either that the Parliament hath no Authority, or at least intends not to make use of it, in determining a Government. How miserably this good well-meaning Author is by me wrested; he declares thus: *It was written onely with reference to the present time; the Parliament having at that time when he writ (during the Assembly debate and consultation) interposed no Authority to determine what Government shall be.*

But good Sir, though you (it may be) hit the meaning of the Author better then I, having had the opportunity to consult with him about it, which I have not; yet I am sure I hit the meaning of his words better then you. If men and their words will be of two different minds and meanings, I confesse their meanings may very easily be mistaken, not by me onely, but by those that are wiser, and farre more able then I to under-

stand the force and proper import of words. And yet now I come upon this occasion to review my expression, I find it more cautious and warie, then I can remember my self to have been in the calculation or indicing of it; and altogether free even from that cavilling and shifing exception, which is here made against it. For I do not absolutely say or conclude, that his opinion *was* or *is* either to or so, (as Mr. Prymme, *pro more suo* chargeth me to do) but onely that it *appears to be* either the one or the other: and I think there is scarce any that understands English, from the child that hath new learn'd his Primer, to the greatest Master in the language, but will acknowledge an *appearance* at least of one or other of those *opinions* in the words. And how anomalous and sharking that interpretation of the words, which Mr. Prymme would force upon them, is, will best appear by comparing the words and interpretation with other expressions of the same Grammaticall character and construction both in the same Author, and in others. When (p. 170. of his Antapologie) he cites this saying out of Zanchie; *that which doth not disturb the publique peace* --- *the Magistrate P R O C E E D E T H* not against; doth he imagine that the meaning of this Author was to confine that *non-proceeding* of the Magistrate he speaks of, to the particular and precise time of his writing; as if then indeed he did not so proceed, but at all other times he did. So again when himself (p. 169. of the same Tract) saith thus, *the power of the Magistrate by which he punisheth sin, doth not subserve to the Kingdom of Christ the Mediator*; can any reasonable man think that his meaning onely should be, that *this power of the Magistrate* which he speaks of, *doth not thus subserve* whilst he is in speaking or writing it; but that afterwards it may, or *doth subserve* in such a kind? *Apagè nugæ!* when the Evangelist John, speaking of Christ, saith thus: *This was the true light that LIGHTETH every man that cometh into the world*; is his meaning that Christ performed that act of grace he speaks of, *enlightened men coming into the world*, onely whilst he was writing his Gospel, and that afterwards he suspended it? In such constructions of speech as this, the common Rule of Divines (touching matter of Interpretation) is, that *verbum presentis notat actionem continuam seu consuetudinem*: i. a verb of the present

Job. 1. 9.

sent sense noteth a continued or still accustomed act. So that whilest Mr. Pryme goes about to prove, that *I miserably wrest his Author*, how favourably soever he may deal with his *Author* in comparison of my dealing with him, certain I am that he *miserably wrests his words*, with which I deal as favourably, as their genuine and native signification, according to all rules both of Grammaticall and Rhetoricall construction will bear.

As for that reason which Mr. Pryme alledgeth, to countenance the sense which he puts upon the words now contested about, to the disparagement of mine, viz. that he maintains point-blank against me throughout his Treatise a legislative and coercive power in Parliaments; and that the inference which I draw from the said words is quite contrarie to the next ensuing words and pages; I answer,

1. (To the former part of the Reason) that it is most untrue: he doth not maintain point-blank against me throughout his Treatise a legislative and coercive power in Parliaments and civill Magistrates. I every where acknowledge and assert a civill legislative power in both; therefore Mr. Edwards maintaining such a power in them, maintains nothing point-blank against me. And whether he maintains a spirituall or Ecclesiasticall legislative power in them, especially throughout his Treatise, let this passage be witness between me and my Adversarie: There is nothing more common in the writings of the learned and orthodox, then to shew that the civill power and Government of the Magistrate, and the Ecclesiasticall Government of the Church, are *coto genere* disjoyned: and thereupon the power of the Magistrate by which he deals with the corrupt manners and disorders of his people, is in the nature and specificall reason distinct from Ecclesiasticall discipline. I know not what artificall construction and meaning Mr. Pryme may possibly find out for these words; but surely he that hath not affirm'd the contrarie, as Mr. Pryme very inconsiderately (that I say not PRE-SUMPTUOUSLY) hath done, will not affirm, that Mr. Edwards in this passage maintains an Ecclesiasticall legislative power in Parliaments or civill Magistrates, but the contrary; yea and affirms this to be the common judgement of men learned and orthodox. So again when he affirms, p. 282. that it is their duty (speaking of the Parliament) by their power and Authority to bind men to the Decrees

a Mr. Edwards
Antap. p. 169.

of the Assembly, he doth not (doubtlesse) maintain an Ecclesiasticall legislative power in the Parliament: for they that have such a power, cannot be bound in *durie* to own the Laws or Decrees of others, much lesse to bind others to subjection to them. I omit many other passages in this book of like importance. The truth is, that Mr. *Pyrmes* opinion concerning an Ecclesiasticall spirituall Jurisdiction in the Civill Magistrate, which yet is his grand notion in all that he hath written upon the subject of Presbyterie, overthrowes the main grounds and principall foundations upon which the Doctrine of Presbyterie is built by all her ablest and most skilfull workmen. Insomuch that I wonder not a little, that the Masters of that way and Judgement, have not appeared at another manner of rate then yet they have done, for the vindication of their principles against him that hath made so sore a breach upon them, and laid their honour in the dust. Somewhat I know some of them have done in this kind: but the Prophet *Elisba* reproved the King of Israel, for *smiting thrice onely upon the ground*, and then ceasing, telling him that he should have smitten *five or six times*.

2. To the latter part of the Reason, I answer and confesse, that the inference I draw from the words mentioned, may very possibly be quite contrarie to the next ensuing words and pages, and yet the sense of them no wayes wrested, nor mistaken by me; because it is familiar in the Discourse, for the Author to contradict himself, as well as other men; according to one of the ingredients in that most true and happie character of the Discourse, given by a woman, who describes it to be *wrangling-influating-contradictory-revengefull storie*. And the truth is, that in the eye of an unpariall and disengaged Reader, there is scarce any passage or period throughout the whole Discourse but may be commodiously enough reduced under one of these 4. heads. And therefore whereas Mr. *Pyrmes* gives this *elogium* of it, that it is *in truth unanswerable*; I confesse that *unanswerable* it is in severall respects and sundrie wayes. First, it is *unanswerable* to that esteeme which my self with many others had of the Author formerly. Secondly, *unanswerable* it is to that opinion, which he would have the world conceive of his parts and learning, and in speciall manner of his abilities to deal in the particular

b Katharine
Chidley New-
years gift. E-
pist. to the
Reader.

c Epist. Dedic.
non longe à fine

ricular controverſie. Thirdly, it is *unſwervable* to his profeſſion as he is a Chriſtian. Fourthly, much more *unſwervable* is it to his calling, as he is a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt and of the Goſpel: And fifthly (and laſtly) moſt *unſwervable* it is to thoſe frequent, ſolemn and large profeſſions which he makes both in his Epistle and elſewhere, of his love to the Apologiſts, and candor and fairneſſe in writing. But for any ſuch *unſwervable-ſſe* as Mr. Pryne intends, the one part of it will not indure that ſuch a thing ſhould be ſpoken of the other; there being enough in the Diſcourſe it ſelf to answer whatſoever is to be found in it, of any materiall conſideration againſt the Congregationall way; as will in time convenient be made manifeſt in the ſight of the Sun, God not preventing, by more then an ordinarie (or at leaſt expected) hand. And whereas Mr. Pryne glorieth (and that twice over at leaſt, for failing) that it hath not been hitherto answered by the Independents; I answer three things: Firſt, that neither hath Mrs. Katharine Chidleys Answer to Mr. Edwards his Reaſons againſt Independencie and Toleration, been yet replied unto or answered, either by Mr. Edwards himſelf, or any other of his parrie; notwithstanding the ſaid Answer be but a ſmall piece in compariſon of the Antapologie: and beſides hath been ſome years longer abroad, then this. Beſides this, there are many other Tractates and Diſcourſes extant (and ſo have been a long time) in defence of the Congregationall way, which as yet have not been ſo much as attempted by any Claſſique Author whatſoever. A particular of ſome of theſe you may ſee, p. 65. of my *Innocent and Truth triumphing together*, in the Margent. As for that which A. S. or (in words at large) Adam Stewart hath liſt up his pen to do againſt M. S. if men will needs vote it for an Answer, an Answer (ſo called) let it be: but (doubtleſſe) he that wants either will a thouſand times is it that ſuch diſtempers as theſe, though found in millions of men, ſhould ſuffer, then that the leaſt haire of the head of one of thoſe men ſhould fall to the ground: This paſſage A. Stewart (*pro genio & ingenio ſuo*) interprets thus: Better that millions of us, who deſire the ſuppreſſion of all Sects, ſhould ſuffer, then but any of them ſhould loſe but one, yea the leaſt haire of their heads. The ſecond part of the Duply, &c. by Adam Stewart, p. 180. What M. S. calls, DISTEMPERS, A. S. interprets, *Proſbyterians*; and is not able to conceive how the one ſhould ſuffer without the other. And this line of interpretation he ſtretcheth over this whole Diſcourſe: *Ornament ab uno Diſtans.*

e Epist. Dedic.
non longe à
ſine. And
again, p. 111.
non longe à
ſine.

* Whereas M.
S. hath theſe
words: Better

or skill to distinguish between the *persons* and the *disputes* of men, is in an ill capacitie (or incapacie rather) of framing any sober answer to a sober Discourse. Secondly, Mr. Edwards himself, the smallnesse of the content of the Apologeticall Narration considered, took not a whit lesse time to give answer to it, then hath yet been taken by the Independents to answer the Antapologie. But thirdly (and lastly) if Mr. Prymme knew and considered, who it was that hath hindered the Independents, and that once and again from answering it as yet, *viz.* he that sometimes *hindered Pauls* coming to the Thessalonians^e, though (in Mr. Edwards apprehension) he both *hastened and furthered the coming back of the Apologists into England*; he had little or no cause to glorie in that priviledge. But *Quod desertor, non adestur*:

• 1 Thes. 2. 18
f Agapol. p.
191.

Quicquid sub terrâ est in aprium proferet etas.

Having (as you have heard) befriended Mr. Edwards (his fellow-labourer in the Presbyterian cause) with the best accommodation he could to make one piece of him hang to another (but alas, who is able to comprimize between fire and water?) he proceeds and tells me *behind my back*, (and yet with an intent I presume that *all the world* should take notice of it) that my passages out of Mr. Hayward, Bishop Jewel, Mr. Fox, Mr. Calvin, Jacobus Acontius, &c. make nothing at all against the legislative Authority of Parliaments in matters of Religion and Church Government, and have no affinity with my passages, words, most of them propugning the very Ecclesiasticall power of Parliaments, which I oppugne: And yet in the very next words adds; that indeed some of their words seem to diminish the coercive power of Magistrates, and enforcing of mens consciences in matters of Religion; as if I ever *opposed or denied* any other Authority or power in Magistrates, then this. If he will please but to peruse my *Innocencies triumph*, pag. 8. and my *Innocency and Truth triumphing together*, pag. 72. 73. 78. with severall other passages in these and other my writings, he will (or at least very easily, may) see that I *oppose*, deny no other Authority, power in Parliaments, Civill Magistrates, but onely that which is *enforcing of mens consciences in matters of Religion*. Whereas he promisech or undertakes that he shall in due place answer these words of theirs, which (as he saith) seem to di-

minish

minish the coercive power of Magistrates in matters of Religion, and manifest how I abuse the Authors herein as well as Mr. Edwards; My answer onely is, that he may indeed soon answer them after that rate of answering, at which he hath answered any thing of mine hitherto, and he may show how (i. say that) I abuse them; and without writing or speaking, as well as by either, manifest that I abuse their Authors herein, as well as I do Mr. Edwards. But for this last particular, I am willing to save him the labour and pains of writing for the manifestation of it. For I here freely confesse, that I have abused these Authors in what he speaks of, just as I have abused Mr. Edwards; and both of them just as much as amounts to no abuse at all. I wonder by what art or way the Gentleman means to go to work, to prove that I have miserably wrested, or abused the Authors he here speaks of, or their words, when as I have put no construction at all or interpretation upon their words, nor drawn any inference or deduction from them, but onely transcribed them with as much diligence and faithfulness as I could, and presented them cleerly as they stand in their respective Authors. If his meaning be, that I have miserably wrested and abused them by my quotation of them, as subservient to my cause or purpose, (a deed of folly which himself commits with the holy Scriptures themselves many a time and often) my answer is, that were this assertion true, that they are not subservient to my cause or purpose, yet my recourse unto them, for aid to my purpose, were no miserable wresting or abusing of them. Our Saviour being an hungry, did not abuse the fig-tree by repairing to it, though there provid nothing upon it for his purpose. Nor should Mr. Prymme abuse a Tavern by going into it to drink a cup of wine that pleaseth him, though he should be disappointed in his expectation when he comes there. Nay in this case would he not rather think (and that much more reasonably of the two) that the Taverne had abused him, then he it. In like manner, if those Authors and sayings which I have produced, and which Mr. Prymme speaks of, have no affinity with my passages and purpose, I may much more truly and reasonably say that they have abused me, then Mr. Prymme can either say or ever prove, that I have abused them. For the truth is, if they do fall me, or refuse to stand by

me in the defence of those passages spoken of when Mr. Prymme hath done his worst to them, they are the greatest dissemblers that ever wore the livery of paper and inke. Never were there sentences or sayings that more fully and freely complied with any mans notions whatsoever in terms and words, then farre the greatest part of these do with my passages and purpose. If Mr. Prymme can dissolve or abrogate the Authoritie of Grammar rules, and destroy the naturall and proper signification of words, then may I have some cause to fear, that he may possibly evict me to be a *miserable wrestler and abuser* of Authors and their sayings. But if words be able to defend themselves, and make good the possession of their known significations and rules of construction, their both ancient and moderne interest in the understandings of men, against the Authority or violence of Mr. Prymme's pen; I desire all his interminations and threatnings of *manifesting* me either a *miserable wrestler or abuser* of my Authors.

The last parcell of his high contest against me in this Discourse, is, that *I pervert the meaning of the Divines of Scotland*, in one, or more, or I know not, he knows not, how many or how few, of those passages which I cite from them; whereas I meddle not little or much with any sense or meaning of any of them; but onely barely tender them unto the Reader, leaving it free unto him to judge of the sense and meaning of them, and whether they consort with my apprehensions, or no. And though he be doubtfull of that interpretation or meaning which himself (however) adventures to put upon them (as there is reason more then enough, why he should) delivering himself with this sub-modest caution, *If I mistake not*; yet am I rated and chidden at no lower rate, then this: *you may THEREFORE blush at this* (I wonder, which) *your perverting of their meaning, as if they held, that the Parliaments of England or Scotland had no power to make Ecclesiasticall Laws for Religion and Church Government. THEREFORE may I blush: wherefore? what? because Mr. Prymme hath put such a sense and interpretation upon the passages in hand, of which he knows not (it seems) what to make, but suspects a mistake in it? Blush in this respect I confesse I may: but what cause have I to blush, at my perverting of their meaning,*

meaning, when as 1. I do not interpose to put any meaning (I mean any particular or speciall meaning) upon any of them.

2. Why should I blush upon Mr. Prymme's injunction, at any meaning which I put upon them, when as that very meaning which himself puts upon them, by way of confutation and disparagement of that which he pretends to be mine, is by himself little lesse then suspected for a mistake? The tax of *blushing* which Mr. Prymme imposeth upon me, should in reason be rather levied upon the estate of his own modestie, who by his own confession runs the hazard of perverting the meaning of those passages under debate, whereas I never came so neere the crime of such a perversion, as to ingage my self in any Interpretation of them at all. But if you will please to heare his Interpretation, and compare it diligently with his Text (the passages cited by me from the *Divines of Scotland*) you may very fairly translate Mr. Prymme, *If I mistake not*, into, certainly, *Mr. Prymme mistakes*. I Answer, (saith he) 1. That their onely meaning (if I mistake not) in these passages, is, that the Prince or chiefe Civill Magistrate of himselfe, without a Parliament, or without the assistance and consent of his Nobles, Commons, Clergie, cannot legally make any Ecclesiasticall Lawes to oblige his people. Mark this saying well; and see how like it looks to the genuine Interpretation, sense or import of these (and the like) ensuing sentences. *All men, as well Magistrates, as inferiours, ought to be subject to the judgement of the Nation all Assembly in Ecclesiasticall causes without any reclamation or appellation to any Judge, Civill or Ecclesiasticall, within the Realme.* Again; *It belongeth to the Synod (the Clergie having the chiefe place therein to give Direction and advice) not to receive and approve the definition of the Prince in things which concerne the worship of God, but it self to define and determine what Orders and Customs are fittest to be observed, &c.* We see here in the Text, that the chiefe place, yea the sole power (for what other sense can be put upon those words, *It belongeth to the Synod it self to define and determine*) of defining and determining Orders and Customs in things which concerne the worship of God, is ascribed unto the Synod, (wherein also the Direction of the Clergie ought to be predominant) not onely without the definition of the Prince, or chiefe Civill Magistrate, but with rejection of his definition: **NOT TO RECEIVE OR APPROVE THE DEFINITION OF THE PRINCE**

^a Mat. 1. 2.
^b Mat. 27. 5.

(saith this text.) Whereas in Mr. Prymnes Interpretation, the Prince or chiefe Civill Magistrate (as we heard) hath the preheminence and precedencie in all such definitions and determinations assigned unto him; and next to him, the Nobles, and next to them the Commons, (of neither of which *ne vñ quidem* in the Text) are interested in the same; and the Clergie, or Synod, which are made the head, and have the chiefe place, if not the sole power, about such definitions and determinations in the text, are in the Interpretation made the taile, and compelled to come behind all the rest, as a partie borne out of due time, or at least in the lowest influence of power, for any such Interest. If Mr. Prymne be not (at the softest) mistaken in this Interpretation, the sense and meaning of those words, *Abraham begat Isaac*^a, may very possibly be this, that *Judas went and hung himself*^b. Judge, Reader, between me and my Adversary, who hath more cause to blush, and who is the more miserable wrestler of words, and perverter of meanings. And whether there be not an ayre or gentle breathing of a contradiction in this period which he subjoynes, within it self, and in one part of it to the premised Interpretation, I desire the Reader attentively to consider. But that the King (saith he) or supreme temporall Magistrates, assisted by a Parliament and Orthodox Divines, may not make binding Ecclesiasticall Lawes, or, that their or our Parliaments have not a reall Legislative power in any matter Ecclesiastique (the onely point controverted) is directly contrary both to the constant Doctrine and Practise of our Brethren and their Church, &c. I beleeve that neither our Brethren, nor their Church, will conne Mr. Prymne thanks for this his vindication and plea for them: but however, I shall not speak in his cast, nor forestall his market. Onely I desire to know of him, if their, and our Parliaments have a reall Legislative Power in matters Ecclesiastique (as he affirms in the latter part of the sentence) why he requires an assistance of Orthodox Divines in the former part of it, to make binding Ecclesiasticall Lawes. They that have a reall Legislative power in, or within themselves; need no forinsecall assistance of others, to make their Lawes binding, though they may need forinsecal advice for the better constitution of them, as in Laws about any particular trade; yea he had given this judgement in the case a little before (as we heard) that the Prince or chiefe civill Magistrate cannot legally make any Ecclesiasticall Lawes, to oblige his people, not onely not without a Parliament,

Parliament, but not without his Clergie also. Doth he not here intereste the Clergie every whit as farre, and as deep in the very essence or substance of the Legislative power, to make binding Ecclesiasticall Lawes for the people, as he doth the Parliament it self? And whereas in the passage last recited, he affirms the onely point in controversie to be, whether our Parliaments have not a reall legislative power in any matters Ecclesiastique; I wonder why he storms me and my writings with so much indignation, p. 106, 107. &c. for printing passages onely charged by him as being against the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of Parliaments^a; which likewise is his usuall expression elsewhere. Doth he apprehend no difference at all, between an Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, power, Authoritie; and a legislative power in or about Ecclesiasticall matters, or things? Mr. Edwards, if he will vouchsafe to learne of him, will teach him a wide difference; who in many places gives and grants unto the Magistrate a power and Authoritie about Ecclesiasticall causes, and businesse^b of many kinds, (though not of any^c, as Mr. Prymmer's bountie extendeth) but no where (to my remembrance) grants any Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction or power to him: yea p. 163. of his Antapologie, he interrogates his Apologists, Whether there doth not reside in the Church all Ecclesiasticall power absolutely necessary to the building up of the Kingdome of Christ, and salvation of men, even when the Magistrate is not of the Church? The import of which interrogation agrees well with that assertion of the same Author; and tract p. 169. that the civill power and Government of the Magistrate, and the Ecclesiasticall Government of the Church, are toto genere disjoyned; and thereupon the power of the Civill Magistrate, by which he deales with the corrupt manners and disorders of his people, is in the nature and specificall reason distinct from Ecclesiasticall Discipline. If there be an Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction or Legislative power, in civill Magistrates, Parliaments, to make Ecclesiasticall binding Lawes; why may not the exercise of this power in the administration or execution of these Lawes, be called Ecclesiasticall Discipline or Government? yea, why not rather Ecclesiasticall, then civill? So that Mr. Prymmer confounding an Ecclesiasticall power, with a power about Ecclesiasticall things, plainly shews that he is not perfectly initiated in the mysterie of Presbyterie: and did not his writings more accommodate that cause and partie by the weight of their Authoritie, and height of language, and confidence, together with unpa-

^a Pag. 106.
ante m. diuon.

^b Antapolog. pag.
119, 120, 123,
&c.
^c pag 165. 169.
170, &c.

ralled bitterness against his opposites, then by their worth in strength of reason, I beleeve they would hardly think them worthy to be numbred amongst their Benefactors.

But notwithstanding all that Mr. *Prynne* hath done or said to, or against me, or my *Innocencies Triumph*, in particular; in the 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 pages of this his Discourse, yet his *spec gregis*, the strength of his hope that he hath done sufficient execution upon me, rests onely upon his former *sections*; however the Question of many concerning them, is, *Cui bono*? He tells me, that my own conscience and judgement cannot but informe me, that he hath written enough in the former Sections to convince me and all the world besides, that I have not onely violated, but denyed, oppugned those Priviledges of Parliament in Ecclesiasticall affaires, which our own Parliaments in all ages, and Parliamentary Assemblies in all other Kingdomes have unquestionably exercised, &c. I answer,

1. I confesse that in the former sections he hath written enough, quantitatively, to convince any reasonable man (if not all the world) of any error or mistake whatsoever: but much too little qualitatively, to convince either me, or any reasonable man, that I have violated, or oppugned any Priviledge of Parliament; I have farre more reason to conceive and hope, that in this and my last-published Discourse, I have written enough both wayes to convince both him and all the world, that I have NOT violated or oppugned any Priviledge of Parliament, truly, or with the consent of Heaven, so called. If he intends to conclude, that therefore I have violated, oppugned the Priviledges of Parliament, because I have argued against some positions or opinions, which Mr. *Prynne*, with some others, are pleased to call Priviledges of Parliament; the Logician, who is a man of reason, will answer for me, that *à terminis diminuentibus non sequitur argumentatio*. It doth not follow, that a piece of metall or coyne is therefore gold, because it is counterfeit gold; nor that Mr. *Prynne*'s Great Grandfather is a man, because he is a dead man. If he can, or shall fairly demonstrate unto me (though in a far lesse content of words, then his three former sections amount unto) that any act, practise, or exercise, either by continuance or succession of time, or by frequency of repetition, or customariness of reiteration, by connivencie or want of opposition from men, must needs change the nature and kind of it, and of sinfull become lawfull, he shall by such

such a demonstration as this, put life into his *former sections*, and render them potent for that *conviction* which he expects from them; but till this be done, that great bulk and body of things done in the dark, and time out of minde, will partake of that infirmity which the Author himself acknowledgeth as cleaving to the Discourse, I meane, *impotencie*; and can with no tolerable pretence of reason or equitie, demand that interest in the judgements, consciences, understandings of men, which he *challengeth* (it seems) on their behalfe. It is as poore and low a designe, onely by alledging the examples, opinions, or judgements of men, to attempt the conviction of him that builds his opinion upon the Scriptures & word of God, yea though he builds besides his foundation; as it would be in a man to carry a sack of chaffe to the market, hoping to bring home a like quantitie of wheat for it, without giving any other price. Yea to alledge and cite the Scriptures themselves, though in never such an abundance, without close arguing and binding them to our cause; is a means of very small hope, whereby to prevaile or doe good upon such a man who holds his opinion, not barely or simply upon a supposall of Scripture-Authoritie for it, but upon Scripture thoroughly debated, and by principles of sound reason and naturall deductions, brought home unto his judgement and cause.

* These my
impotent en-
deavours.
Epist. to the
Reader, ver-
sus *finem*.

Againe, 2. in all that great body of *premisses* contained in all the *former Sections* he speaks of, there is not one word, syllable, letter, or tittle to prove that maine ingredient in his *Conclusion*, *unquestionably exercised*. Logicians justly reject and exauthorize all such Conclusions, which swell above the line of their premisses. By all the tables and donaries presented unto Neptune by those that in Shipwracks escaped with their lives, it could not be knowne, who, or how many they were, that were drowned.

3. Nor is there any whit more in any, in all the said *Sections* or *premisses*, that reacheth home, or indeed comes neere, to that specialtie in the Conclusion, *in all ages*. *Evens* mother lived many ages ago; yet the mother of Abel had the precedencie of her by many generations. Therefore surely all the world will never accept of the Conclusion so insufficiently and lamely provd.

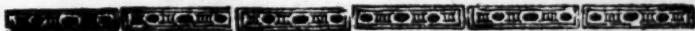
4. And lastly, Whereas Mr. Pryme tells me, that if I now make not good my promise, few or none will ever credit me hereafter; I should
be

be very glad to meet with my condition, that so I might performe my obligation. But in the meane time, whether any or none *will credit me here after*; I know not well how I, or any other should credit him for the *present*, as touching the authentiquenes and truth of those citations and transcript ons, upon which the principall weight of that Conclusion depends, whereof he expects conviction both from me, and *all the world* to boote. Is it lightly possible for any man to refraine jealousie in this kind, that doth but consider how oft his pen hath dash'd against the rock of truth, in representing me, my opinions and sayings, (yea, I can say further, affections, intentions) upon the open theatre of the world, where any man that will, may see his nakednesse in this kinde? Is *boldnesse* in the Sun, like to prove *modestie* in the shade? As for satisfaction by examination of all particulars, it is not every mans, indeed very few mens, opportunitie. The respective Authors and records, wherein particularities must be inquired after, and found, for satisfaction in that kind, are in few mens hands; and not of all mens understandings. So that Mr. Pryme by dealing so unfaithfully and unchristianly by me and my sayings, as he hath done, hath not onely obstructed the course and passages of his own reputation and credit; but hath further also injur'd the world round about him, by rendring those good parts and abilities wherewith God hath intrusted him for publick accommodation, if not wholly unserviceable, yet of very meane usefulness and concernment, in comparison of what their line and tenour would well have borne. It is a saying in the Civill Law, that *he that hath injur'd one, hath threaten'd many*.

Psalm 103. 14.

I end, with a word of Christian admonition and advice, both to the Gentleman my Antagonist, and my selfe. Sir, the Great and Glorious God that made us, in mercy remembers both our frames, and considers *that we are dust*^a. This gracious remembrance of his we enjoy both by night and by day, in whatsoever we enjoy in the Comforts of this world, yea or in the opportunities we have of laying hold on that which is to come. Our dust which abaseth us, in this respect, yet relieveth us, and becomes a Mediator for us with the bountifullnesse of God: were wee creatures of a more excellent line, those sins and infirmities would (in all likelihood) were they found upon us, be our ruine, which now doe not so much

as shake the least haire of our heads. If wee would but remember and consider one the other, as God doth us both, that common principle of frailtie, out of which wee act to a reciprocall discontentment and offence, would be of soveraigne use to mollifie and supple, if not perfectly to heale, both our wounds. Not to think any thing that befalleth us strange, is almost (being interpreted) not to think it evill. We shall not quit our selves like men, if we make any great matter of it, to be evill intreated by men. Mutuall discontentments now and then are a known tribute which men must look to pay for the commoditie of living & conversing together in the world. If we have offended one the other, happie shall we be in forgiving one the other, and circumvent him whose designe was to have circumvented us, and made hatred (a kind of upper hell) of our contestation. If I have offended you otherwise then by speaking the truth, and so as the defence of it, all circumstances duly poyed, required, you shall not need long to complaine of want of Christian satisfaction, as far as I am able either to doe or to speak any thing that may accommodate you, if you please, but to signifie your aggrievance, and make your demands in a Christian and loving way. And if your heart will but answer mine in these inclinations, the storms and tempests of our contestations, shall yet end in a sweet calme; and men shall look upon us, as if wee had never been they: If you reject the motion of a Christian compliance by the way, I can very patiently, and with comfort enough, awaite the Decisions of that Great Tribunall, whose awards will shortly seale all the righteousnesses and unrighteousnesses of men, against all further disputes or inquiries to the dayes of Eternitie.



F I N I S.



*Carolus D. G. Rex Ang:
Sco: Fran: et Hib:*

G. G.

S. 1

19
THE
PERSWASION

OF
Certaine Grave *DIVINES*,

(Most of them of the ASSEMBLY)

TO
SVCH AS SVFFER FOR
THE KING,

THAT
THEY PERSEVERE IN
THEIR *SUFFERINGS*.

I S. A. M. 13. 20.


The Israelites went downe to the Philistines, every man to sharpen his axe.

ECCLES. 5. 8.

If thou seest the oppression of the poore, and violent perverting of judgement and justice in a province, marvell not at the matter: for he that is higher then the highest, regardeth, and there be higher then they.

Jan: 27 O X F O R D,

Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD,
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TO HIS
MAJESTIES
HIGHNESSE.



Ay it please You, to cast Your
eye on these lines, of him who
is cast downe enough, that his
Courage hath not been an-
swerable to his Conscience to suffer for
You. In a serious and sad sense where-
of (*Deum testor*) to stir up his dull duty,
he hath borrowed a goad from the averse
party ; whereby he hath so quickned
himselſe, that though he hath Fled for

A 2

You,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

You, yet rather then he will ever hereafter Flee from You, now (*cum bono Deo*) he will lay downe his Living, Livelyhood, and Life, to testifie that he is

Your Majesties faithfull

(though most unworthy)

Subject and Servant,



Philosabilius.

TESTES VERITATIS.

D. Burges.	M. Coleman.
D. Gouge.	M. Goodwin.
D. Gauden.	M. Harris.
D. Smith.	M. Herle.
M. Ash.	M. Hill.
M. Bridge.	M. Ley.
M. Calamie.	M. Marshall.
M. Burroughes.	M. Will. Sedgewick.
M. Caryl.	M. Ob. Sedgewick.
M. Case.	M. Torshil.


M. Prynne.

MAT. 23. 2, 3.

They sit in Moses seat :

What they (here) bid you observe, that observe
and doe : But doe not after their works.

T O T H E
R E A D E R.

 S Master BUNNIE
put forth the Re-
solutions of Parsons, so do
I the Resolutions of these
men. God make Thee,
& Me to make the right
Use of them.



Philobasilus.



THE PERSVVASION OF Certaine grave DIVINES, &c.



Our *Cause* never so good, and were our *Persons* so too: howbeit, *Constancie* and *Courage* are hearts of *Grace*, which grow not in every, even Christian, mans garden. If we could sell all we have to buy this Jewel, it were an excellent purchase.

Cranmer, that admirable *Arch-bishop*, and *Arch-enemy* to the *Papists*, Gods instrument of our *Reformation* from *Rome*; yet, others flattering him, and he fearing others, even He fell from the faith, and did subscribe to *Popery*. *Ierome* of *Prague*, that couragious *Voluntier*, and *Champion* for the *Church* of *Bohemia*, who challenged that *Popish Goliath*, even the whole *Council* of *Constance*; when he came thither, was there conquered by the foule usage of a filthy *Imprisonment*, and *Recanted*. *Hosius* the *Holy*, both nominall and reall, after he had been *President* of that great *Council*, which condemned *Arius*; yet, when he was fouricore yeeres old, having one foot in the grave, the feare of *Death* forced him to find a hand to subscribe to the *Arians*. *Origen*, who exhorted his father *Leonidas* to goe on constantly to *Martyrdome*, and was himselfe *Martyr* *veto*, resolved to be *Martyred*, notwithstanding the many and mighty *Torments*, both threatned and acted to deterre him; yet being assaulted by that devilish *Dilemma*, either to have his chaste body defiled by an ugly *Aethiop*, or to cast *Incense* to an *Idol*; he sanke,
and

The Perswasion of

and suffered his hand to act that part of Idolatrie. *Marcellinus*, that famous Bishop of Rome, did render himselfe infamous among the Primitive Christians, for his falling from his Constancie, and *sacrificing to an Idol for feare of death*. Finally, *S. Peter*, who did protest that he was ready to goe with Christ, both into Prison, and to death; yet did he deny his Master, and that with dreadfull execration.

Now, though all these, through Gods gracious goodnesse, did recant their Recantations, and returned from their Relapses; yet, we may rather feare to follow their weaknesse, then we can be sure to retorne with their Repentance. Wherefore, their Apostasie seemeth to preach to us, that Sermon of *S. Paul* to the Corinthians, *Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed he doe not fall*, 1 Cor. 10. 12.

A most necessary Exhortation. If their hopes, and our feares should come to passe; If the King be conquered, the very name of a *Malignant* will expose us to most miserable oppression. Then a man must be neither *εὐχάριστος*, nor *εὐσεβής*: He shall not discover his Love, neither to the Kings Person, nor to his *Prerogative*. Then our Children shall be Orphans, their Parents surviving: we shall be divorced from their Education. Then our Preachers shall be exiled from their Parishes, and from their very Being too, even to an Extirpation. Then shall we be subject to the insolence of insulting Souldiers. Then shall we be lyable to the fury of a Forraigne Army, who will be called in to support the sinking party. Then shall we be made *Ludibrium populi*, the scorn of the scumme of the people. Then shall our Estates be Sequestred, if not sold away absolutely: Our Persons shall be Imprisoned, Exiled, if not Executed. And although we may think our Innocence shall escape the Law; yet an omnipotent Ordinance will overtake us, and overthrow us. Then, (which is worst of all, worse then all I have spoken) Then shall our Conscience be brought into bondage: *We shall be interdicted from worshipping our God in that way, which our conscience tells us is right, and our Chronicles that it is established by Law.*

He, who shall not be shaken by these stormes, is built upon a Rock; nay he is a Rock, (*Petra fortis frangit, non frangitur*) a member of *Iesus Christ*, of that spiritual Rock, against which the gates of hell shall never prevaile.

Now

Luke 6. 48.
1 Cor. 10. 4.
Mat. 16. 18.

Now that we may know, and shew our selves to be such, let us seriously revolve, and resolve, what props we intend to depend upon, when we come to the grand Tryall. For which purpose, I will borrow the materials of our edification out of our *Adversaries owne Writings*. I will rightly Apply their miserably mis-applied Instructions: And I hope they will give us leave to make the true Use of their *Doctrines*.

That we may be soundly edified, I will not build without a foundation. First, (though most briefly) I will shew that we have a *Good Cause*; then, instruct (in their words) how we may have a *Good Courage*. For, *Causa, non Pœna, facit Martyrem*; If wee doe not suffer for the Truth, we can have no True joy in those sufferings.

Whose is *The good Cause*, and which side make just War, this is a subject for a Treatise. Here therefore, I will only name one *Præcognitum*, as it were a briefe Preface thereunto, in two words: First, by way of *Conjecture*: Secondly, by way of *Demonstration*. First, it may seeme somewhat strange, that all the Grandies of their leading Preachers, in their most studied Sermons, at their most solemne Assemblies, choose their Texts out of the *Old Testament*: I have seene few in print out of the *New*. I conjecture this to be the cause: They cannot pitch upon one Text in the whole New Testament, but in that very Chapter, he shall meet with an Argument, either in the plaine Letter, or in the strong Inference against their Opinion, *That it is lawfull for Subjects to take up Armes against their King*. Secondly, S. Paul doth declare *Demonstratively*, to my apprehension, that to assert a Warre of Subjects against their King, is an opinion both erroneous, and damnable; *Let every soule be subject to the higher Power; and whosoever resisteth, shall receive Damnation, Rom. 13. 1, 2*. The Apostle prescribing this Precept, both Affirmative and Negative, Universally, Indefinitely, and without Limitation, *Let every man be subject*, (whether he pertain to the people *Collective*, or *Representative*) *Resist not the higher Power*, (whether Good or Bad.) I dare not take up Armes against my King, who is the *Highest Power*, by my solemne acknowledgement of a sacred Oath, and that twofold, of *Supremacie* and *Allegiance*; and then seek satisfaction from *Limitations* and *Distinctions*. Nay, this Apostolicall menacing Precept appeareth so plaine

to me, and my conscience, informed by a full measure of my cleare and convinced understanding; that if now the most learned, & most applauded Preacher in this Kingdome; yea though an Angel from heaven should teach me another Gospel, I would say, Let him be accused, Gal. 1. 8.

Suarez. contra
Anglican. secte
errores, lib. 3. c.
12. sect. 1. fo. -
224.

Suarez said, it was the saying of King James, concerning Image-Adoration; He did wonder what cunning wit, or consensing spirit did obtrude this grosse figment upon the Church: and that he did marvellously misdoubt, that the Excuses drawn from their nice Distinctions, would not be approved by Christ, when he shall charge them with Idolatrie at the day of Iudgement. Here the Jesuite confesseth, that he found it more difficult to give a sound Answer to this plain Demand, then to answer the strongest Arguments, and the most Authentique Authorities, whiche could be alledged. So, in this Jesuiticall point, concerning Warre against the King; If King Charles should say in the phrase of King James his famous Father, That he doth wonder what cunning wit, or consensing spirit did obtrude this damnable figment on his bewitched Subjects; and that he doth marvellously misdoubt that the Excuses drawn from their Distinctions, will not be approved by Christ, when he will charge them with the damnable sinne of bloody Rebellion at the day of Iudgement; I beleeve it will appeare to be a greater Difficulty for the most learned Jesuite, or (in this point) Jesuited Preacher, to satisfie the doubting conscience of a Christian, though of meane capacity, making these plaine demands; then to untwist the most knotty questions of Controversie, or Historie.

An Appeal to
thy Conscience
Conclusion,
pag. 52.

This new doctrine of *Defensive Armes* hath caused the shedding of more true Christian blood in the space of one day, then Queene Marias persecution did in all her reigne. Nay, more then many of the Ten cruell Persecutions in the Primitive Church. Woe, woe be unto you Prophets, who daube with untampered mortar, seeing Vanity, and divining LYES unto the people, saying, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord hath not spoken. Ezech. 22. 28.

Though we doe not despaire, yet we dare not presume of successe, and comfort our soules with that expectation. It is not the successe, but the Truth of the Cause, which can cause us to be couragious. We are ready to be Confessours, and Martyrs, to lay downe our Estates, Libertie, and Lives: Not because we are assured of Victorie; but

but because we have so good a King, and so good a Cause, as no precedent can parallel: Yet that we may be comforted, though not confident in the successe, thus are we instructed by our Adversaries.

The rage of the wicked shall not extend so far as they intend. It is true, their rage sometime may goe very far, and may doe much mischief; but never beyond what may stand with Gods goodnesse, towards his people. When the enemy begins to make himselfe sure of his will on the godly, and to say, *I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoile, my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, my hand shall be satisfied upon them;* Then God steps in, and sets bounds to their rage, saying to them as to the raging sea, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.*

And this he doth many wayes: 1. By constraining them unto mildnesse contrary to their nature. Thus he restrained the rage of Esau against Jacob, whose death though he had long vowed, yet at their meeting he was well pleased with him.

2. By giving them so much work elsewhere, that they have no leisure to pursue the godly any further. We see it in Ahab at Ramoth Gilead, who intended a further persecution against Michajah. As likewise in Julian, who resolving to destroy the Christians, was necessitated to goe into Persia, where he perished.

3. By infatuating their counsels. Thus he made the Princes of Zoan fooler, and caused Julian to fall by his counsels before the Persians, when he burned his ships, to cut off all hope of flight from his souldiers.

4. By arming the creatures; as the stars against Sisera, the waters against Pharaoh, and the winds against Eugenius, which beat his souldiers weapons out of their hands, fighting against Theodosius.

5. By Panick feares; So the Moabites were overthowne by occasion of a colour of blood caused on the waters by the Sun.

6. By setting the enemies of Gods people one against another; Thus The Lord set every mans sword against his fellow, throughout the host of the Midianites, and the Amalekites.

7. By turning their owne swords on their owne bosomes. Thus Achitophel hanged himself, when he saw his counsels to destroy

11. Burger Ser.
to the House
of Commons,
Nov. 5. 1641
pag. 40.

Exod. 15. 9.
Job 38. 11

pag. 41.
Gen 33. 10.

1 King. 22.
27. 28.

Gen. 2. 27. Or.
4. 2. Julianum.

Esay 19. 11.
Theod. 1. 3. c. 30
Aug. de Civit.
li. 5. c. 26.

pag. 42.
2 King. 3. 23. 22
Judges 7. 22.

2 Sam. 17.
Tert. Apol. c. 5.
Euseb. 6. 2. c. 7. 8

David were not followed. Pilate also the condemner of Christ, and Nero the persecuter of Christians, did both fall by their owne hands, without effecting what they intended.

Page 45.

Ester 4.1.

Eccles. 10. 20.

Prov. 21.30.

Mat. 16.18.

Esay 54.17.

Page 56.

Esay 8.9, 10.

8. By discovering their Plots; A Treason discovered is lost. Thus he did discover the plot of Haman against the Jewes. And thus doth God provide, that rather then the rage of the wicked shall prevaile, a bird of the aire shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.

Take the Reasons; 1. The power of God: There is no understanding, nor wisdom, nor counsell against the Lord.

2. All wicked men and devils are in Gods hand; The gates of hell shall not prevaile against his Church.

3. Gods promise; No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper.

That wicked men would yet desist from their conspiracie against the goodly, before the Lords wrath break forth, and they perish for ever! But if they will not be instructed, I must leave with them, that which the Lord denounced to the incurable enemies of the Church heretofore; Gird your selves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; (I must insert what the Doctor omitted in the beginning of that verse, Associate your selves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces) Gird your selves, and you shall be broken in pieces; Take counsell together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand, for God is with us. *Sis veritas in ore Prophetæ.*

Although I have confined my Discourse to those Motives, which the hands of our Adversaries reach unto us; yet I will goe beyond those confines, and (obiter) insert some friendly Admonitions from the pers of some which love us, and our Cause. I will begin with this brieft Historie. *Bastian*, an expert Captaine of the Savoyard against the Protestants, then called *Waldos*, going out of his lodging, threatned terrible things that he would doe that day: To whom his Hostesse said, Monsieur, if our Religion be the better, you shall have the victory. That Captaine returning to his Inne mortally wounded, she said unto him againe, Monsieur, it is now well seen, That their Religion is better then ours. Although I consent not to this woman, That a good Successe shall alway accompany a good Cause; yet I concur with that man, who said, *To oppose a good Cause*

Aft. and Mon.
Vol. 2. li. 7. fo.
1160. Col. B.

Cause, is Osoquay, to fight against God. And I am confident, God will never be conquered, no nor mocked neither. A. 5. 39.
Mat. 16. 18.
Gal. 6. 7.

The meanes and motives to make us take a good Courage in our good Cause, I reduce to six Heads: Wherein, God is A and Ω, the first and last of our Encouragements. And it may be, these Arguments, like those loaves, *Mat. 14. 19.* will multiply in the breaking. I teach you as we have been taught by our Adversaries. If we fixe our meditations on our *God*, our *Selves*, our *Cause*, our *Foes*, our *Friends*, our *King*, and againe on our *God*, we cannot but be courageous.

1. Doe we desire that our Courage may be like our Cause, *Good?* M. Calamy's
Serm. to the H.
of Com. Dec.
22. 1641. pag.
9, 10.
Let us fly to the God of power, who giveth Kingdomes, and taketh away Kingdomes as he pleaseth. The great Superintendent. Fly to him as to thy Ark, thy Pillar, thy City of refuge. And in our deepest miseries, let us sing chærfully the 46 Psal. as Luther was wont, *God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble; I will not feare, though the earth be moved, and the mountaines be carried into the midst of the sea, &c.*

Take the improvement of this point in two particulars:

1. Gods Omnipotence, 2. Gods Omnipresence.

1. Is there not more ability in G O D, then power in all the creatures, if combined together? *Be strong, and courageous,* M. Alb's Serm.
to Major Skip-
pen, pag. 25, 26.
2 Chron. 32. 8.
(saith Hezekiah) *be not afraid, nor dismayed for the King of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him, for there be more with us then with him: with him is an arme of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God to help us; and the people rested themselves on the words of Hezekiah. We see that this thought, The Lord our God to help us, did steele and strengthen their hearts.*

2. Have not I commanded thee? *be of a good courage, for God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.* Josh. 1. 9.
The Lord is with us by the presence of his speciall favour, in all our good undertakings, wheresoever we goe. The Christian carryeth his Commander, his Castle, his God along with him. Assurance therefore that the All-sufficient, and All-present God is ours, will lay a good foundation for a good courage.

More compendiously, as substantially. Every one saith, *I be-
lieve in God the Father Almighty: But doe we believe indeed
that God is our Father Almighty? If God be our Father, he* M. Chilling-
worth's Serm.
pag 4.

The Perswasion of

will doe what he can; if he be Almighty, he can doe what he will, to help us. Wherefore a Coward is an Infidel.

M. 11. Sedge.
w. 1. Sermon. o
the 11. of Com.
Epist. Deale.

Job 27. 5.

Page 9.

37.

37.

M. 4. 1. Sermon.
to Major ship-
page 1642.

Page 23.

Page 13.

14.

M. 10. 1. The
Good of peace,
page 25, 26.

2. Consider our Selves; how it becommeth us to be both Con-
scientious, and Courageous. We are possessed of a richer jewel
then Life, Innocence. Let none purchase it of you; Nec Caesar,
nec Populus, (neither the King, nor the Parliament) Resolve with
Job, I will not leave mine Innocencie till I die. God many times
suffers the tree to be shaken, that the rotten fruit may fall off.
You must come armed with the blood of the Lambe, Apoc. 12. 11.
Think ye are to deale with bloodie enemies, that thirst for the blood
of Saints. And chouse rather to be poore with Innocence and
Honesty, then to rise by (Blood and) Apostacie. A good courage
(the next thing which every good Christian must labour for) is
an undaunted audacitie of a sanctified heart to undergoe difficul-
ties for a good Cause. 2 Chron. 16. 13. *Quit ye like men.* 2 Chro.
9. ult. *Deale couragiously.* Hag. 2. 4. *Be strong, O Zerubbabel, be
strong ye people of the land.* Some by reason of pusillanimitie,
dare not appeare for the Cause which in conscience they are con-
vinced to be the Cause of God. Joh. 12. 43. The consciences of
many tell them, that such a way is the way of God; and yet for
seare of I know not what, scoznes, mockes, losse of friends, &c.
they dare not be scene. It may be they will goe to Christ with
Nicodemus, in the night, for seare too many eyes should observe
them, in such untwonted paths, which seeme to proclaime strid-
nesse, prestisenesse, (and LOYALTIE.)

A learned man, who doth not follow them, doth follow this
point to the full. We should be perswaded very studiously to pro-
vide for the safety and security of our soules, laying them up by
faith in Christ in the hands of God, as in the hands of a faithfull
Creator, and a reconciled God in him; that if we fall into the com-
mon calamity and destruction of the sword, and be deprived of the
outward peace which is in this world, yet keeping faith and a good
conscience, the sword shall but let out our soules out of our bodies,
as out of a prison, to enjoy eternall peace, and rest in heaven, the
consummation of the blessed quiet begun in peace of conscience in
this life. *And we shall by death be delivered from all the evils of this
world,* Esay 57. 2. *For, The righteous is but taken from evils here
below, and peace doth come to them in death, the grave is but a bed of
rest*

rest to them; and that fulfilled which our Saviour spake, *Ioh. 16. 33.* In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have peace: The way whereunto is Faith with a good conscience, uprightnesse and integrity of heart; for the end of the upright is peace, *Psal. 37. 37.* Therefore saith the Psalmist, *Keep innocence, and doe the thing that is upright, for that will give a man peace at the last:* And though the heavens fall, the ruines thereof shall not make him afraid, his heart being supported by a better hope and expectation, then the best things in the world can afford.

One of theirs, speaketh also to the purpose, concerning the conserving of a good courage in a good cause. They who have the good Cause, may atchieve a good courage from this information: *Sell not truth out of carnall feares: You have a good invitation to it, Rev. 21. 7, 8.* *ὁ νικῶν, He that is overcoming, not he that hath overcome, shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my sonne; But the fearfull and unbelieving shall have their part in the lake.* Read over the storie of Je: Spira with trembling, who out of such feare betrayed the truth. After he had gone to Venice to the Popes Legate, with whom out of carnall feare he complied, craving pardon of him, and willing to recant that Religion which he had publicquely professed; When he returned to his house, he could not rest one houre, no not a minnte, nor feele any ease of his continuall anguish. From that night he was much troubled with horroz; and as he confesseth, he saw plainly before his eyes all the torments of hell; and in his soule did heare that fearfull sentence, being dratton before the judgement seat of Christ. Hold fast the truth, let faith triumph over feares. If Peter will deny his Master, at best he must returne by weeping crosse. Many are irrevocably smitten with that thunderbolt from the Lord, *Heb. 10. 38.* *If any draw back, my soule shall have no pleasure in him.*

Mr. Hills Sermon to the House of Commons, July 27. 1642. pa. 55, 56

I have laid my finger on the right sore; I hope it is not a *Noli me tangere*, ye will give me leave to touch it. Carnall feare is a humane passion; & *homo sum*, I confesse I have been shaken with it. I have been afraid, when I have heard those fearfull Threatnings, of sending our Brethren to the Barbados, yea selling them to Argiers; of extirpation of Church Government, and of Parliamentall poverty and imprisonment, even perpetuall. Against this I acknowledge
this

2 Kings 13.
17, 18, 19.

M To Job 16 Hy.
p. cite, li. 2. c.
14. pa. 137.

Ma 8. 12, 13.

Mat. 10. 28.

Eccles. 2. 16,
17, 18.

M. Burroughes
lib. 1. pa. 91.

M. Burroughes
ibid. pag. 90.

D. Gaudens
Serm. to the H.
of Com. Nov.
22. 1640.

this Authors good advice; But there must be more then one arrow to smite this Aramite; I will draw others out of their Quiver, and I hope they will become *Sagitte salutis*, meanes to save us from this carnall feare, and to arme us with spirituall courage. The feare of God will destroy this carnall feare. This cuts off base and unworthy complings, he (who is endued with this feare) will not say, *A confederacie to whom the people say a confederacie, nor feare their feares, he who taketh the Lord of Hosts for his feare.* A greater feare will swallow up the lesser. Christ impzobeth this argument upon his hearers, That they should not feare him that can kill the body, (that is all they can doe, and the worst of their spight) but that they should feare him who can cast both body and soul into Hell fire. The Ass, a dull and slow creature, feares the spur or whip, and will dribe on roundly; but if it come to a Fire, he feares so much, that the spur may fetch blood, the whip may be spent and woyn away with lashing, yet he will not be forced to goe forward. Here is a feare conquering a feare. You feare men; they frowne, and threaten, and beare a sword; but offend not God to please them: For in his frowne is death, his sword is sharper, and his arrowes ready. This is finely urged by an Apocryphall Authoz, *They that feare the Lord, will seek that which is well-pleasing to him; and they that love him shall be filled with the law. They that feare the Lord will prepare their hearts, and humble their soules in his sight, saying, We will fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of man.* Therefore as Alexander the Great, having a coward in his Army of his name, he bade him either change his name, or be valiant; so saith Christ, be either no coward, or no chystian.

3. *A good Cause will beget a good Courage.* It was a notable speech that Josephus reports Herod made to his souldiers; it came from the mouth of an Herod, but it will become the mouth of the most godly chystian: Some men say, sayes he, our cause is just, but we are few and weak; Where Truth and Justice is, there is God, and where God is, there wants neither multitude nor fortitude.

Now that our Cause is the Truth, we have briefly shewed it, and shall shew it occasionally in following passages. Now I prove it from the judgement of our learned Adversarie. For, certainly in the

the Church, (and in the Kingdome) those propositions are like
lyest to be true, which tend to the peace of the Church, (or King-
dome) as it was the true mother which pleaded against the divi-
ding of the child. As God commandeth us, Heb. 12. 14. we doe
follow peace; as the word signifieth: We doe not onely profe-
cute, but persecute it. We follow peace with as much love to
embrace it, as our Persecutors doe follow us (though most in-
nocent) to destroy us.

And for the other side, their Cause cannot be true, because they
are against Peace. The most and best of them are zealously affe-
cted to the Truth, but want a sound knowledge, or meek and
humble spirits, (which may ingender affected Ignorance.)
Wherefore they are full of violence and bitterness; so prone to
strife and contention, that from words and disputes they kindle
unto blowes: *When we speak of peace, they prepare unto war, Quia*
illis utile bellum, Their best fishing is in troubled waters.

Moreover, our Cause being (in our conscience) so good, and (in
our understanding) so true; we acknowledge what we are taught;
Neuters are Enemies in Christs catalogue; He that is not with
me is against me: and I would not have our names there for a
thousand worlds. Wherefore we cannot but remember that
speech of Gotes Oalchus; *I am afraid to deny the Truth, lest I be*
for ever denied by the Truth. Wherefore, although we doe full
well understand that the Apostle Heb. 12. 4. doth speak to us,
Ye have not resisted unto blood; As if he had said, Doe ye begin to
be faint-hearted? Alas, the worst is not yet come, God hath
greater tryals for you then these; ye have hitherto resisted but unto
tears and sighs; I tell you, ye must suffer more, *You must resist to*
blood. The enemy hath not yet filled up his measure. Yet with-
all, we are comfortably assured, *That God will look upon all the*
blasphemies, insolencies, outrages, and conspiracies against this our
Church and State, (and against our King, his loyal Subjects, and his
own worship) and retaliate our Adversaries, and justifie our Cause.

Buy Truth, Prov. 23. 23. Solomon here mentioneth no price,
because he would have us buy it at any price. It hath cost al-
ready our credit, and liberty, as it did the Apostles, Act. 5. 41.
It hath cost us the losse of our goods, as it did those Christians,
Heb. 10. 34. It may be, Life it selfe must be the price of truth;

M. Cayls Ser.
Mar. 27. 1643.
pag. 25.

D. Gauden
ibid pag. 18.

Psal. 120. 7.

M. Cases Ser. n.
Jan. 27. 1642.
Epist. Dedic.
Mat. 12. 30.

M. Bridges Ser.
to the House
of Commons,
1641. pag. 33.

M. Case ibid.
pag. 9.

M. Harris Ser.
to the House of
Com. May 25.
1642.

Mr. Hills Ser-
mon to the
House of Com-
mons, July 27.
1642. pag. 11.

We must be content to follow that cloud of witnesses, which appears in that little Book of Martyrs, Heb. 11. We must write after that Heroicall copie which our own Moxthies have set us, who sacrificed their lives to the crueltie of Bonners flames, that they might possesse the truth. It was Heroicall zeale in S. Basil, who for his defending the truth against the Arians, being threatened to death, answered, *Deus sciet, Oportet me mori pro veritate.*

Our judgement is formed, and I hope our practice shall be framed according to the directions of our learned Adversaries. To purchase our peace; we will not sell truth by flattering, complying, and mancipating (enslaving) our judgments to other mens opinions and errours; either discovered, which is very wicked, or unsearched, which is very weak. Degenerate minds, which so easily enslave that *perceptive*, the noblest and soveraigne faculty of our Soule, which is the Understanding, to other mens erroneous opinions never so great, be their power so too. *There is a labour of love, which loves its labour*; ready to deny our selves, in any thing neare or deare unto us, rather then deny any saving truth; cheerfully suffering for it, rather then it should suffer. A good mind that loveth the truth, suffers more in truths suppression, than its owne; yea by dying for it if need be; and God doth chuse us out for his Champions to crowne and improve the necessity of Death, with the glory of Martyrdome, which is the highest witnessing of our love to God and his truth. Difficulties rather whet and twist to a firme Resolution, then any way blunt or discourage a well-placed affection. The Heathen set such a price on Truth, that he thought it worthy our selfe,

— *Viamq; impendere vero*

Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

It is a blind and preposterous love, that loves life better then that for which onely life is worth the having. Better we die then Truth decay: which as a Phoenix is wont to renew its life out of Martyrs ashes.

Now let our Christians be like certaine old Christians; who revolting, came trembling not as men which should doe sacrifice; but which should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorne. But we (with Gods assistance) will imitate holy *Polycarpus*, who, when the Proconsul said earnestly unto him,

Denise

D. Gaudens,
Ser. to the H. of
Corn. Nov. 29.
1640. pag. 20.

Page 26.

Act. and Mon.
Vol. 1. lib. 1. 10.
60, & 69.

Denie Christ, and I will discharge thee; Polycarpus answered, Eighty six yeeres have I served Christ, and hitherto hath he done no harme unto me; Shall I now speak evill of my Lord, who hath so long preserved me?

4. Here, me thinks I heare the adverse party triumph, before their victorie; confident of successe, because of the holinesse of their partakers. Thus they speak. Herod feared John, because he was holy; and so a long while did him no harme. And the Emperour Adrian ceased his persecution against the Christians, when he understood of their holinesse of life. Thus the power of holinesse is able to dayle the proudest spirits. *Such an holy Armie is raised for us: Where maugre the scumilous jeering of our blaspheming prophane enemies, we doe invest our Generall with that sacred Title, He is Lord of Hosts.* Your courage therefore cannot but faile: Can you have the smallest hope of successe? No, no, our Cause must prosper; for although we were all dead, our Armies overthrown, and even our Parliaments dissolved, *This Cause must prevale.* I answer,

While you extoll your Holinesse, we feele the Cruelnesse. If God give you successe, we hope he will give us patience, under the oppression, which you exercise upon us with affected Ignorance. *Have all the workers of iniquitie (saith David) no knowledge, that they eat up my people as they eat up bread? i. That they injure, bere, and consume them, with no moze remorse, regret, or touch of conscience, then they eat and drinke to preserve their naturall libes: as if such men as these, the people of God, were made for the same end, to be eaten up and devoured by them. Have they no knowledge, saith the Prophet, that they dare attempt such a thing as this: Impling, that to bere, molest, persecute and destroy the people of God, argues the most profound ignorance, and thickest darknesse, in the minds and understandings of men, that can be found there. And yet these men (you so much extoll and adhere to) are such as the Prophet Ezechiel sheweth to have affinity, or rather consanguinity with beasts, *Brutish men, and skilfull to destroy, take upon them the names of Christians, and which is moze, most of them pretend themselves Champions for the true Protestant Religion, when they doe what they can to root it out, (Extirpation) by ruining those who most sincere**

M. Colemans
Sermon to the H.
of Com. Sept.
29. 1643. pag.
11.

M. Burroughes
Epist. Dedic.

M. Massells
Ser. at M. Pynes
Funer. p. 38.

Anti-Cavalier.
pag. 2.

Psal. 14. 4.

M. Leys Ser. to
the H. of Com.
Apr. 16. 1643.
pag. 48.
Ezech. 21. 31.

2 Cor. 4. 4.

M. Burroughes
pag. 20.Jer. 12. 7.
Ezech. 7. 24.M. Burroughes
pag. 24.

Dan. 3. 16.

P. 895.

Act. 2. 13.

pag. 90.

ly professe it; and (which is yet more then that, and an undoubted evidence of his egregious imposture, who blinds the minds of men, as to make himselfe (though a Devill) to be taken for a God) There are many who beleve what these professe, though they practice the most contrary, and adhere unto them, to the hazard of their owne temporall being, and eternall well-being; for with them they pursue the slaughter of Gods dearest servants, with such a mad malignity, as if it were a service acceptable to himselfe. Thus we see that fulfilled on our Saviours Disciples in our dayes, which he foretold many hundred yeres agoe, *Who-soever killeth y. u will think he doth God good service. Ioh. 16. 2.* Now this successe you fore-tell, we feare; It may be, You may be the rod of Gods anger, for the chastisement of his (poore sinfull) people. He may give his beloved into the hands of her enemy; as he hath already brought the worst of the heathen to inherit our houses. Yet we must tell you we foresee this danger in the Cause of God, and (with the help of God) we will resolutely encounter it. That speech of Esther came from a brave spirit, though of a woman, *If I perish, I perish;* but it was a fruit of fasting and Prayer; yea that is the way to get a spirit of courage indeed. The like we have of the three Children; O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not carefull to answer thee in this matter: Behold, our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us out of thy hand, O King; but if not, he is knowne unto thee O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy golden image. That famous expression of S. Paul, hath the like Christian valour sparkling in it, when it was prophesied that he should be bound at Jerusalem, at which the Saints fell a weeping, *Why doe ye weep? I am ready not only to be bound, but to die for Christ.* Ignatius is famous for the like; Let the fire, the Gallows, the devouring of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the pressing of my bodie, and the torments of hell it selfe come upon me, so I may win Christ. The like spirit had Luther, saying, *If all the tiles in Wormes were devils, I would thither: knowing that he was called to witnesse the truth.* Scavola said, *Romanum est fortia pati;* If it be the part of a Romane to suffer great things, much more of a Christian. If we be daintie, and cannot suffer, we are not fit to be Christians. *Nimis delicatus es* (saith Tertul.) *you are too delicate.*

And

And that some of our side (we hope, and pray for the like in the rest) have been endued with a courageous spirit, Master Prynn doth assure us by a president which he hath published; *March 29.* A paper was found to this effect; *Laud look to thy selfe, be assured thy life is sought, neither God nor the world can endure such a vile Councellour to live.* Concerning which he penned this ejaculation, *Lord I am a grievous sinner, but I beseech thee deliver my soule from them that HATE ME WITHOVT A CAUSE.* Feb. 28. 1632. Doctor Duck brought him word how miserably he was *SILA PDEKED* by some Separatists; for which he renews this ejaculation: *I pray God give me patience, and forgive them.* Decemb. 18. 1640. he was accused by the House of Commons for High Treason; upon which he composed this Prayer: *O eternall God and mercifull Father, I humbly beseech thee look down upon me, in this time of my great and grievous affliction. Lord (if it be thy blessed will) make my innocence appeare: and free me and my Profession from all scandall thus raised on me. And howsoever, if it please thee to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee, give me full patience, proportionable comfort and contentment with whatsoever thou seest; and a heart ready to DIE for the honour of the KINGS happinesse, and the Churches preservation. And my ZEALE to these is ALL the SINNE (humane frailties excepted) which is yet knowne to me, in this particular, for which I SUFFER. Lord look upon me in mercie, and for the merits of Iesus Christ pardon all my sins, many and great, which have drawn downe this judgement upon me, and then in all things doe with me as seemes best in thine eyes. And make me not onely patient under, but thankesfull for what thou dost: O Lord my strength and my Redeemer. Amen.*

An excellent Copie I we will endeavour to write after it, though with a trembling hand: And like *Bilney* the Martyr, wee will put our finger into the candle before our burning; hoping the Lord will enable us to endure both the small and the great, both the present and the future afflictions.

Notwithstanding, we doe not *animum despondere*, cast off all comfortable expectation of successe; as we are well encouraged by a learned man on their side, In these wavering times, two duties doe especially concerne us; One is a constant respect to divine

The life of the
Archbishop of
Cant. by Master
Prynn, pag 15.

pag. 17.

pag. 31.

Aft. and Mon.
Vol. 2. lib. 8.
Hen. 8.

M. Sedgewicks
Serm. Jun. 15.
1643. Epist.
Dedic.

commands, and the other is a fixed respect on Divine Promises. Whatsoever the tempozie event may be, we must be carefull to doe our work, and then be confident that God (in due time) will finish his. Perhaps the children of Christ shall suffer yet longer, but they shall not suffer for ever; for the mighty Angel which came downe from heaven, Rev. 10. 1. though he was clothed with a cloud, yet he was clothed with a rainbow too, which is *Nunctus fœderis & serenitatis*. And if we cast our eyes on Zach. 14. 7. peradventure we may find as strange an evening time, as we now doe a day time; *It shall come to passe, that at evening time it shall be light.* O the wonderfully superlatively thoughts and acts of God! How high and contrary are his times and working to weak mans times and expectation? When we are most confident of God, then behold Evil is upon us; and when we are expecting nothing but Darknesse, then behold at the Evening time it shall be Light. So wisely doth the great Sovereigne of the world reserve himselfe, and times; that yet he can and will create light, clearest mercies, even then when his Church is setting in evening of darkest miseries.

Nay, the successe of your side may not succeed according to your expectation. For though our adversaries may swell much in their owne eyes, and seeme to be disposers of all men, and presume that they can doe what they list; yet first, they are but men at most, and men at the best. And what is Man? That which is no more then Man, is no lesse then Vanity; mere Man is but the dzeame of a dzeame; but the generation of a fancie; but a vanity; but the curious picture of nothing; a poore, feeble, unstable, dying flash.

2. They are but naked men; they have no God with them, nor for them: Did God ever command them to destroy his Church, (and swear the extirpation thereof?) Did he ever promise them in that service, either assistance or reward? Assuredly our wicked adversaries have nothing but what hell and wicked men can help them with.

3. They are but wicked men: Harken how the Scripture termes them, *Haters of God, Enemies to God, Fighters against God.* The very reason why they contend against the people of God, is, because they see any thing of God in them; and shall wicked men be stronger then God?

shall

M. Sedgewicks
Serm. June 15.
1643. p. 16, 17.

D. Gauden,
p. 43.

Shall then the aduersaries of truth and peace (and of our God and King) be so bold, vigilant, and desperately active to bring in (*Profanenesse, Schisme, Novelty, Paritie, Democracie, and*) adulteries of Truth and Religion; and shall we be so cold, remisse, timorous? Shall they as Assassins be so prodigall of their owne and our bloods; and shall we be sparing of our words, estates, or persons? (of our Names, Liberties, Lives?) *Ornaments;* Why are we afraid, O we of little faith?

The truth is this; The thing we most dread from our imperious M. Hill *ibid.* Enemy, if God permit them to prevaile unto the Empire, both Ci-
vill and Ecclesiasticall, is Church-tyrannie; which of all other *pag. 16.*
is most grievous, because oppressive to the Conscience. It is too
much to put such a high claime to their Government, (*which is* 17.
a child of an hundred yeeres old) as suddenly to stile it, The
throne of Christ. If their Presbyterian power be the throne
of Christ, let us see the Word of Christ for it; what need wee
such violent arguments to maintaine it? Wath upon Wath,
Subscription upon Subscription, (and Covenant upon Co-
venant.)

Here I may hint an Item to our Adversaries, who thus violently
persecute us, to prosecute their (*Utopian*) through-Reformation *20.*
in Church and State. If with Abtolom to humour their vain-glo-
rie, they will set the peace of a Kingdome to sale; if with Haman
to gratifie their proud revenge, they will set a whole Church to
sale; if to be purveyours for their lusts, as the prophane Rom.
13. 14. they will be merchants for schisme, as seditious Inno-
vators; and Prodoers for the Devill, as Peace-opposers: Like
Adam, they will make but an evill market to sell themselves and
their posterity (for that will be the event of their war, it they
conquer us) for the forbidden fruit. Our resolution (with Christs
aid) is this: If our enemies will be inexorable, our patience shall
be invincible. We will fix our minds on the dignity of the work, *M. Sedgewick*
and not much mind the malignity of our opposers. *pag. 43.*

And for this *Nationall Oppression* (for the deligne for Extirpation
of our Governors and Government, of our Ministers and Ministry)
Though heretofore it might have been said to be private and per- *M. Bridge*
sonall, as the project of some few persons, factious people; yet *pag. 22*
now having passed the House, it doth commence *Nationall*. We
hope

M. Case, p. 153.

hope for a Nationall, though not a Personall redemption. We hope that our posterity, in the next generation, may say, not *The Lord liveth which brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt*, Jer. 16. 4. or *The Lord liveth which saved England from the Spanish Invasion in 88. when the proud waves threatened to goe over our soules*; or *The Lord liveth which snatched us as a brand out of the midst of the fire, and was seene in the midst of the flames of the hellish Powder-plot, Nov. 5. 1605.* so that not one haire of our head was singed, or our coat scorched: But, *The Lord liveth that did thus and thus for England, for poore, perishing, helpelesse, hopelesse England, when there was but a step between them and destruction.* We shall, and must want a Title for it, till Mercie it selfe make it one. I will pronounce the Title. In that day our children shall say, *The Lord liveth who hath brought poore England from a Paritie, Democracie, Anarchie; or from a Tyrannie Presbyteriall, or Independent.*

M. Leys Moni-
tor, pag. 7.
Hieronymus ad
Heliodorum.

Withall, I must tell you, we have Heroicall thoughts which fore higher, above these hoping and expecting consolations; the Memorandum whereunto we must ascribe to their Quotation. *Licet parvulus ex collo pendent nepos, licet (sparsa crine & scissis vestibus) ubera (quibus se nutrierat) mater ostendat, licet Pater in limine jaceat, per calcatam perge patrem, siccis oculis ad vexillam crucis evola.* Although my tender children should hang about my neck, although my deare Mother should kneele unto me, and although my reverend Father should lye prostrate on the floore, and intreat, beseech, and command me, for His, Her, and Their sakes, not to expose my selfe to the mercilesse oppression of our cruell adversaries: I would trample on Him, Her, and Them, all, to goe to take up my Crosse, to suffer for the Lord, and for the Lords Anointed, for our Church, and for our Religion, in so pious and just a Cause, as His Majesty is now inforced to defend by force of Armes.

Sir Walt. Rawl.
l. 4. c. 2. sect. 1.
fo. 169.
D. Jacksons -
Divine Essence
part 2. p. 268.

Hethat cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purposeth to recover. And it is no lesse becomming the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, then it doth the weakest children to bemoane them. *Detricus* being beaten by the Hunnes (or Scythians) which invaded Hungarie, carried in his forehead to Rome, the stump of the Arrow, in witnesse that he had confronted the enemy, and was not wounded in the back. Our enemies may beat us, but they shall not make us turne our back,

back, and become backsliders by all their Oppressions.

Although I be not endued with that Heroicall courage mentioned by S. *Jerome*; nor yet am I able to say with *George Carpenter* Martyr, My wife and children are so deare to me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches of Bavaria; yet for the love of my Lord I will forsake them: Notwithstanding, I say with S. *Jerome*, *Lauda in aliis, quod non habeo in meis*, I admire this resolution in others, which I deplore to be wanting in my selfe. And I hope in time the Lord will strengthen my weaknesse, as he once did one *Austine* a Germane Protestant; who at the first did flee from his wife, when she was surpris'd by the Officers; and afterward dwelling in *Bellimonte* he was detected againe, and his house beset, whence escaping, he hid himselfe in a bush; but being brought from thence by a souldier before the Magistrate, he answered boldly, defended the truth valiantly, and dyed courageously.

Ast. and Mon.
Vol. 2. lib. 7.
fol. 1017.

Ibid. fo. 1017.

5. Againe, upbraidingly they tell us, that we may conceive just cause of discouragement, if we consider that the Kings party are few, faint-hearted, falling away, and already (for the most part) false under the conquering hand of the prosperous Parliament. No weapon formed against it hath prospered; there hath been no enchantments against this Parliament, nor divination against this great Council of the Kingdome. Tell me but one designe wherein the Parliament hath miscarried: and but one project, wherein the Palignant party have prospered, and I will give you leave to call all our hopes into question.

M. Case, pag 73

108.

But the weaknesse of the Kings party doth not much weaken our courage: it is the goodnesse of his Cause, not the greatnesse of his Power, which doth encourage us to adhere to his Majesty. There is an impotence and disability of any creature to help and support us. All creatures are reeds, weak, brittle, and feare the flesh of such as leane upon them. So as it is not onely unusefull and vaine, but also dangerous and damageable to rest on mere creatures for support.

D. Gouges Ser.
to the House
of Commons,
Jan. 29. 1642.
pag. 32.
Ezech. 29. 6, 7.

Of all humane helps, the Parliament is the principall, whereunto our weeping, bleeding hopes have addressed themselves; but with what successe, all see, we feele. Yet these were, and still are the words of our complaint.

M. Herls Ser-
mon to the
House of Com-
mons, July 15.
1643. p. 4. 10.

We pleased to imagine Religion (Protestant Religion) as an
Orphan

D

Daphan Virgin, by her so much the worse enemies, in that; Pre-
 tenders, bathed in her owne teares and blood; throwing her selfe
 at your feet, sighing out some such sad complaint as this, Whi-
 ther shall a distressed Virgin fly, but to her Guardians? Ye are
 they. Is it not enough that (against the Law of Nations) my
 Ambassadors have been not onely denyed Audience, but silen-
 ced, sentenced, imprisoned, banished; my faithfull servants e-
 very where insulted on, reviled, (for Malignants) pursued hi-
 therto to their undoing, and now come to very death; while my
 swoyne and professed enemies are generally secured, countenan-
 ced, imployed, advanced? Is it not enough that my name hath
 been prostituted as the common baile of every complement, lye,
 cheat, treason, and made the guilty shelter of the foulest errors,
 (Innovation, profaning of Churches) sects, and seditions? Is it
 not enough that (with his in *Lucan*) *totum est pro vulnere corpus*,
 that my whole body for these thre yeers hath been but one wound,
 by the blows of those Masters of murders, (Rebels, pretending
 Reformation) but that now ye have suffered Wallones and o-
 thers practised Blood-suckers (nay, and our neighbours of Scot-
 land) to be let in upon me every day afresh; to make upon me
 inquisition for blood, to see if there were any more yet left: *Oh*
suffer not my blood to be spilt like water on the earth. *Tis I, I that*
have brought you that precious blood of Redemption, and thereby
have made too your blood precious in Gods eyes; O let mine be
so in yours, at least the worse remainder of it that is left. O passe
not by as wayfaring unconcerned men, with hands folded in your
bosomes, but Behold and consider, if there were ever sorrows like unto
these of mine, or mine had ever cause to be such befoze. What doe
 ye meane? Doe ye stay to see if Angels will come and rescue me?
 (as another *Dafanna* at the stake.) To you ye Captains of Is-
 rael it belongeth. Ye are *Equites cataphrasi*, the Horsemen and
 Chariots of Israel, the *Vindices sanguinis*, the avengers of blood;
 (yet I desire none, no not the blood of them that seek mine.) If
 ye stay till the Angels come to my rescue, they will in all likely-
 hood (as they did by Philip) snatch me up from among you, and
 land me, it may be in America. And if you suffer the Dragon
 once to drive the woman into the wildernesse, the Ark to be taken, then
 ye may call the issue, *Ichabod*, The glorie of Israel is departed.

This

This is our supplication, though in their words. The Parliament will not, the King cannot succour us; G o d can both. To Him therefore we remit our Cause and our selves, with all Christian patience.

That the Kings part are few; compared to the Parliaments party, we heare so, we think so: but we are led into great comfort, by one of their great leading men, who teacheth us thus: God both oftentimes take away instruments, that it may be knowne, that his Church and Cause is not supported by them, but by himselfe alone; that we may know, when the youths faint and be weary, and the young men utterly fall, then the Church is carryed in his bosome.

M Marshall's
Funer. for M.
Pym, p. 8.

And that the Kings Part are faint-hearted, so they say, and so we see all so: Some such there are, who are for the King, with the Orators qualification, *modo audiant quæ sentiant*, if they durst say what they think; and doe what they say. But others that are on the Kings part, will permit you to put the case, What if after all our fastings, the same judgement (or worse) should befall us, which befalls our poore Brethren in Ireland, that the Sword should break forth amongst us, and all the unmercifull and sudden calamities of Warre should beleaguer us; that in a moment the Gospel (and the Preachers thereof) should be banished, our Liberties should be imbondaged, our Estates should be exhausted, (say requested) our Lands should be dispossessed, (yea sold away) our houses burnt, our coffers ransackt, (our persons imprisoned) our bodies tortured, and our lives threatened; (yea, which is worse, what if we should be threatned to be sold to Argiers?) *Deus bone experti loquimur*. Some of the Kings party (our Orators) can resolve this case in the words of the same man, and of other men of the same mind. First, by this we should be persuaded to repent; if ever we purpose to repent, or would repent to purpose, this is the time. Secondly, they will say, We must put off irregular feares. We shall not be exactly serviceable to God, nor Religion, (nor to our King) if we have any thing to lose: Should such a man as I flee? said Nehemiah, 6. 11. Guilty persons, who are contriving against the foundations of a Church and State, they may well feare; Their consciences may read terrours, dangers, losses to them. But persons royally summoned,

Mr. Harris,
pag. 20.
M. Ob. Scd. e-
wick, p. 24.

pag. 43.
pag. 46.

1 Pet. 3. 13.

ned and piously employed, for the (defence of a) right settled Church and Kingdome, (for the Prerogatives of our King, Priviledges of the Parliament, Liberties of the Subjects, and Lawes of our Kingdome) As their attempts are aboue all contumelie, so their hearts should be aboue all fancies and feares: *If ye be followers of that which is good, who is he that will harme you? There can never be any true danger noz losse by being good, noz by doing good in our callings. The King of Poland, when his servant Zelisslaus lost his hand in his wars, sent him instead thereof a golden hand: We shall never spend our strength in vaine for God, (and for his Vicegerent) his service is good, and reward sure.*

M. Case, p. 51.

Psal. 94. 12.

That some of the Kings part should fall from him, it is not impossible. Men may turne their backs to the Sunne setting, and the prudent, who are more provident for their Estates, then for their Consciences, may provide for themselves (eyeing the Parliaments successe) by a prudentiall submission. Yet, those that continue loyal to His Majesty, are encouraged to the continuance in that loyalty, by Ministers who are Adversaries to his Majesty. Consider that the blessing doth consist, not in the removing of an affliction, whether publike or private, but in the sanctifying of it. *Blessed is the man whom thou correctest and teachest in thy law. He saith not, Blessed is the man who was in prison, and is enlarged; noz Blessed the man who was sick, and is recovered; noz Blessed are people who were likely to have been consumed by Civill Wars, but now a Pacification is made: but, Blessed is the people or person whom thou correctest and teachest. When Teachings goe along with Corrections, there is the Blessing. Yea, the revolting of them which fall from Him (a most heaveie affliction) doth teach the Loyall to fall from their sins; which is the removing of Achan out of His Majesties Army. No man stood by me, but all forsook me, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion. Now his Inference is obserbable, And the Lord shall deliver me from every EVILL WORK.*

M. Ase, p. 25.

2 Tim. 4. 16,

17, 18.

M. Burroughes,
p. 86, 87.

Finally, I must tell you, there are some innocent, patient people on the Kings part, who send out against His Majesties enemies, *Armia Christianorum*, an Army of Prayers and Tears, as we are taught by the adverse party. Hence as Sacrifice hath the name Hostia, because when they went against Enemies, (Hostes) they offered it.

It. Saul thought it an hard thing to goe sozth to war, not having offered sacrifice. We say with Luther, *Præces nostra bombardæ nostra*, our Prayers are our Guns. An Army of Prayers is as strong as an Army of men; yea one man praying, may do more then many fighting. God suspends deliberance many times, that he may draine out prayers and teares from his people, which are like musick in his eares, and pearls in his eyes. And that when it is full tide with Gods peoples sorowes, then it is full time with Gods mercies and compassions. *Thou wilt arise, and have mercie upon Sion, for it is time that thou have mercie upon her; yea the time is come.* We having put on these Armes, whatsoever shall become of our Persons, and of our Time; for the Publique and Future we are promised undoubted successe. Be confident of it, that whosoever may be your enemies, and whatsoever may be your hazards; yet Christ and his Church will be Conquerours. *Ex-urgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici ejus.*

1 Sam. 13. 12.

M. Case, p. 8.

13, 14.

Psal. 102. 13.

M. Sedgewick

Epist. Dedic.

Psal. 68. 1.

6. I must not omit, that those of our side, some are active under, and some doe suffer for and with our KING. An admirable argument against all Adversaries, and Adversities whatsoever. So good a King to be slandered, so great a King to be deposed; where is the courage and conscience of those Subjects, who will not assist him?

Some of theirs gain-say this, Far is it from our hearts to wish or imprecate the least evil to His Majesty, for whose reall happiness and prosperity we shall ever be daily Prayers to the Throne of grace; as also for his Royall Consort, and Posterity. But we must take heed (as the same Author in the same place adviseth) that we walk circumspectly, not as fooles, but as wise, (weighing all mens actions, not their protestations) redeeming the time, because the dayes are very evil, *Deceifull beyond all former ages; Yea far more dangerous then most men apprehend them.* This is M. Prynnes admonition, which he hath verified in his own practice: For, notwithstanding his most pious Protestations, in that very lease he doth most impiously slander His Majesty, and in the next, threaten him to be deposed from his Throne.

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

M. Prynns Roy-

all Favourite,

Epist. to the

Reader.

And surely all good Subjects are obliged to assist their KING by all good meanes, but principally by the principall, our prayers. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. For, the crowne of a King is set with rich

M. Caryl, p. 32.

stones, but is lined with cares; and they who have many cares, need many prayers: prayers of their owne, and prayers from others. There is many a man consumed with the care of a single family; yea some are consumed with the care of single selfe: What then think you may be the cares of a whole Kingdome, what the cares of three Kingdomes upon one man, unlesse Prayer prop him up? Pray therefore, Give the King thy Judgements O God.

M. Harris p. 5

The Lord hath taken him into commission with himselfe; put his name, his power upon him. What it is I cannot determine, nor doe I meddle with his prerogatives; what ever 'tis, 'tis Gods; 'tis of him, and for him; and he should be obeyed, and shall be protected accordingly. Therefore, to fight against the King, is *Θισαρχία*, to fight against God. I know thy rage against D. C., saith the Lord, 2 Kings 19. 29. that is through the loynes of King Hezekiah. But this rage shall turn to the praise of God: not intentionally on mans part, as if he in his rage aimed at it, for so, *God is not in all his thoughts*; but occasionally on mans part, and efficaciously on Gods, who brings light out of darknesse, and good out of evill. His power and providence so ordereth and disposeth of all the malicious machinations, and bloody designs of the most desperate men, that they goe away with shame, his people with joy, (his Anointed with safety) and himselfe with honour.

D. Burges p. 6

Psal. 10. 4.

His Majesties
Protest. prefixt
to Vindicie
regis.

M. Coleman,
pag. 33, 34.

Yea, the name of a King, and the words of our King, kindle in us an hope of successe: I am confident (saith His Majesty) of Gods blessing. Come see the works of the Lord, what wonders hee hath wrought in this kind! A King insuriously put from his Right by an usurping hand, after a Covenant between the Lord, the King, and the people, That they would be the Lords people, 2 Kings 11. 19. (now, many of the Kings part make this Covenant from the ground of their hearts) He was re-established; He sate him downe on the throne of Kings.

2. A Land miserably put from its peace, after such a Covenant, was resettled: Peace was re-obtained, and that as a fruit of Prayer, 2 Chron. 15. 15.

3. Religion craftily (now forcibly) put from its purity, after such a Covenant, was reformed; and after such a Reformation continued, 2 Chron. 34. 34. And so, The Lord will bring evill

upon

upon this place, and upon the Inhabitants thereof: but as for the King, because his heart is tender, (tender of blood, ever desirous of Peace) He shall be gathered to the grave in peace, 2 Chr. 24. 24, 27, 28.

4. Rebels and Rebellion basely and bloodily backed and managed, against the Lord, (and his Anointed) after such a Covenant (with the King unto God, never with the people against their King) have been overthrowne and subdued, Ezech. 20. 37, 38. I will sever from among you the Rebels. The Lord give this successe concerning England. Sever out the Rebels here from the true Subjects. Amen.

Howbeit, although we doe not despaire, yet we dare not presume of successe on the Kings side. If we presume upon the goodnesse of the Cause, or greatnesse of our strength, we may be crost, as Israel was, in that of Judges 20. M. Harris, pag. 44.

Although, when David was hemm'd in with Sauls Army, yet God made a way for him to escape, yet it is possible for the Lord in his secret, but just judgement, to permit Iosiah to fall before the Forces of Pharaoh, Necho, and the Egyptians; wherefore it is His Majesties Cause we adhere to, rather then to His Person. Yet if He should fall in this Warre, (Novimus illum esse mortalem: at absit) This War which is waged against Him, though Defensible, is **FLAT REBELLION**, as we are taught by one of your owne Doctors. Our comfort then is, if we suffer for our KING, we shall not suffer as **REBELS**. No small Encouragement. 1 Sam. 23. 26. M. Ob. Sedgew. pag. 7. 2 Chron 35. 20

This may be an excellent encouragement to our despised, and dejected Clergie. If their KING be charged with Popery in Print; is it so great a matter to be printed, Popishly-affected, Ill-affected, Scandalous Priests, Malignants? &c. Indeed I perceibe there are more sons of Belial, then those that witnessed against Naboth, That he blasphemed God and the King. But our (Imprisoned, Plundered, Sequestred) Ministers having no Vineyard to accommodate any man, I cannot easily conceive, what men, and their tongues (and their pens) meane, to be still up in such unchristian contentations (and uncharitable censures and calumnies) against them; except this be it, Because they speak the Truth, (of Loyalty towards their King) and men are not able to beare it. I am confident our Ministers doe not much dread this fire, made of tongues

D. Burges, Fire of the Sanct. c. 3. pag 41.

M. Goodmans Theomachia, Epist.

2 Cor. 9. 8.
John 18. 37.

tongues of Aspes and Wipers, not because they have not bene sufficiently burnt by it, but partly because they have ben a long time accustomed to such burnings, and found them moze purifying, then consuming; partly because the great Apostle informed them, that the way to glorie is through honour and dishonour, through good report and evill report; and partly because they may, must beare witnesse to the truth, (for Loyaltie against R. b. l. l. e. n) and partly because God hath made them lovers of men (f their Countrymen) in such a degre, that they can willingly consecrate themselves to their service, thzough any sufferings from them. If this woold faile them, they know, God hath prepared another, which will stand by them, and not faile.

M. Ley, p. 46.

M. Sedgewick
pag. 20.

But if the Parliament prevaile, what comfort and courage can we take up, when we shall see a consummation of those Calamities, whereof we have (*see; d. u. s.*) a taste already in no small measure? When we shall be driven out of our Country, or shut up in prison; stript of our cloathes, cast into nasty dungeons, and denyed dyet necessary to suppozt nature. When we shall heare the confused noise of Warriours, and see garments rolled in blood; one street flaming with fire, another groanning under the wounds of death; In one house the parishioner hunting after his Minister to bzain him; in another the bzother laying hold on his bzother to pistoll him; and others crying, Oh spare my father, spare my mother, spare my tender children. In which rage (and furious zeale) Nature shall be forgotten, Law shall be (*is*) forgotten, Religion shall be forgotten, and all Relations shall be (*are*) forgotten, because now the feare of God (and obedience to our King) hath ben long forgotten; what comfort, what courage can we gather in such calamities?

M. Prym's Royal
Favourite. p. 41

I here have laid my finger on the right pulse, and have declared what we feele in part, feare in the full, *viz.* the losse of our Liberties, Estates, Names, Countreys, Children, and Lives. But we are told by a Grandie, That in these present Wars against the Parliament, the King doth hazard his State, Life, and Kingdome. If we suffer not onely for the King, but with the King, accursed be that Cowardize, which shall cause us to sink, or shrink in such a suffering.

7. Thus many are our Consolations in these woful times, arising

(as we are instructed by the learned of the averſe part) from the conſideration of *our ſelves, our Cauſe, our friends, our foes, and our King*; but there is one ſurmounts them all, our meditation upon our God. God is the ſupport of his Saints. Many, many epithites attributed to God in the Scripture, are ſo many proofs of this point; ſuch as theſe, *Refuge, houſe of defence, ſhelter, forteſſe, high tower, buckler, rocke, and hiding place.*

D. Gouges Ser.
to the Houſe
of Commons,
Jan. 29. 1642.
pag. 30.

37.
38.
39.
40.

1. A Refuge is a place ſoꝝ ſuch as are in danger to fly unto ſoꝝ ſuccour and ſecurity; ſuch were the Cities of Refuge among the Jews. When a man was unjuſtly ſuſpected of wilfull murder, and hotly purſued by the revenger of blood, he made all the ſpeed he could to the city of Refuge. There was his cauſe rightly judged. Doe ye alſo flee to God in all undue ſuſpitions, and unjuſt accuſations, (though it be in an authentically, applauded Centurie) In Him ye may be ſure to have your cauſe righted, and your perſon ſecured.

2. A ſhelter is ſoꝝ ſuch as in their journey are overtaken with ſhowers of raine, haile, ſnow, ſtoꝝms oꝝ tempeſts. In ſuch a caſe if a traveller eſpie a ſhelter, he will make haſte to it. God hath undertaken to be a covert from ſorme and raine. When the raging raine of oppreſſion, oꝝ ſtoꝝme of perſecution oꝝ violent tempeſt of any malignant oppoſition falls on you, ſhelter your ſelves under the covert of your God.

Eſay 4. 6.

3. An houſe of defence, or caſtle, or forteſſe, or high tower, are alſo ſoꝝ ſafety againſt Armies of Enemies that compaſſe about and beſiege us, and would utterly deſtroy us, if we had not ſuch a place of ſafety. Now God indeed is an high Tower and impregnable Caſtle. Abide therefore in him, and feare not; though multitude of enemies do on every ſide ſet againſt you. *They are ſafe whom God doth guard.*

4. A buckler oꝝ ſhield is of ſingular uſe to keep off puſh of pike, ſtroak of ſword, ſoꝝce of dart, arrow, oꝝ bullet, that ſhall be flung oꝝ ſhot againſt us. So Faith in God will keep off all the fiery darts of the Devill; much moze the furious, envious, and malicious words of wicked men.

Ephes. 6. 16.

5. A Rock is a firm, and a ſure foundation; any edifice that is wel erected and ſetled on it, cannot be overthꝝowne. Though the rain deſcend, and the floods come, and the wind blow, and beat upon that houſe, yet it falls not, becauſe it is founded on a rock. Foꝝ Application of this Metaphoꝝ, note what Chriſt ſaith of himſelfe, as he is a Rock: *Vpon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Againe, a Rock being in the Sea, remains immoveable. The

Mat. 7. 24, 25.

Mat. 16. 18.

A strongest tempests and violentest waues of the sea cannot shake it much lesse overthrow it. If therefore any who have suffered shipwreck by floating on the sea, and espie a Rock, they will make to it. So in our greatest troubles, and most desperate dangers, let us go to God, the Rock of our salvation, and we may be sure to be safe.

6. An hiding place, is that wherein many beasts doe repose themselves on all occasions: as a Conies borrow, a foxes hold, a Lions den: when they are there, they think themselves safe. There therefore they use to sleep, thither they use to carry the prey they get, and there to eat it: if they be hunted, or feare any danger, they will make thither as fast as they can: if they be hurt, there they use to lick themselves whole: yea in these their hiding places they die for the most part. Seeing it pleaseth the holy Ghost to attribute to God this resemblance of safety, (an hiding place) give me leave in Christs phrase to say to you, Behold the beasts of the field: behold them in this particular, and use God for your hiding place, as they use their holds and dens. On all occasions repose your selves on him, and rest secure on him, when you sleep and wake. Have ye good successe in your affaires: goe to God, to rejoyce in him, and to praise him. Doe thy affaires succed ill: even then also go to God for redresse & right. In peace, in trouble, in hope and feare, in safety and danger, in all cases, on all occasions, have recourse to God. *Live in God, die in God.*

This militarie Metaphor, I hope, will be profitable to us, who are truly militant. God is our Castle, and Captaine. *Julius Pflugius*, who had been employed by the Emperour, but much wronged by the Duke of Saxonie; whereof complaining, Caesar returnd this answer, Have a little patience, *Tua causa eris mea*, thy cause and condition shall be mine owne; and this was heartning enough. God saith the same to us; make we the same inlivening use of it. *Weaknesse* (saith he in *Sophocles*) is strong enough, if God will fight. But if that for the chastisement of our sin, as it is to our Brethren already, *There be no peace to him that goeth out, nor to him that commeth in; but that great vexations are upon all the inhabitants of the country: so for us also, that God will deliver us to the ungodly, and turne us over to the hands of the wicked: Shall we therefore cast off our hope of God: God forbid. No, he will make his enemies to know what it is to fight against God.*

Another metaphor concerneth God, and our godly encouragement against our ungodly adversarijs; *He shall deliver thee from the nare of the hunter.* Such hunters have been spoiling with all cruelty many of our Brethren, and still the Hunt is up, they make it a matter of sport;

Psal. 119. 114.
Esay 4. 6.

M. Sedgewick
pag 50.

D. Smith: Sermon to the
House of Commons,
May 29.
1644. pag. 4.

2 Chron. 15. 5.

Job 16. 11.

D. Smith, p. 42.

spoort; These are Nimrods, Esau, Hunters of men. Whereupon I remember S. Hierome saith, We reade of holy Fishermen, never of holy Hunters. The time will come, when God shall laugh at their calamities, and mock when their feare commeth. Let them while their spoort lasteth, boast themselves, as if they had all sure enough; and let them adde to their other blasphemies, and say with that proud tyrant in Synesius, No man shall escape our hands, no, though he held Christ himself by the foot. Let them proceed, and presume on their strength, who have nothing else to rest upon: But, it is good for us to keep fast by God, not to let goe our hold. As Homer said of the walls of Troy, Their Forts and Bulwarks cannot be strong, that are built without God, or against him, (because without the King, and against him.) Let us then still trust in God, and be unwearied, and undaunted in his service; who hath delivered, and doth deliver, in whom we trust, that hee will yet deliver us. But if our God will not deliver us; yet let our hunters, know, we will not adore their Idol, nor for feare of their fierie for-nace, commit that sin (Rebellion) which is Idolatric.

Prov. 1. 16.

Psal. 73. 28.

2 Cor. 1. 10.

Dan. 3. 17.

2 Sam. 15. 13.

These perillous times are fertile of Temptations to affright men from their Loyaltie, for their personall safety. But we must not dare to adventure upon any known sin, (and we know what Rebellion is) though it be to safeguard our persons, our estates, our places of favour and honour, or any thing, or all things under the Sun. What if they take away my trash: the true treasure is out of their reach. What if they take downe my tottering tabernacle of clay: I shall have a glorified, a beautified body to all eternity, in spight of hell and earth combining against me. What if they drive me out of my house, city, and Kingdome: the best is, they cannot expell me from God, nor deprive me of a mansion, an abiding place in the City of God, in the Kingdome of heaven. Hind this, (my beloved) that though England, Ireland-like, should be wasted, although there should be sad things in Church and Common-wealth, in City, Countrey, Townes, and Families, yet still our Iehovah continues himself, and unto his people the Selfe-same, All-sufficient, All-satisfying God. Surely we who pitch our hearts and hopes upon this unchangeable foundation, The Lord Iehovah, may abide steady in our spirits, and comforts, in the midst of the worst alterations that can overtake us.

M. Alb. p. 28.

26.

p. 32.

If ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye; be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled, 1 Pet. 3. 14. It is a noble, a Christian resolution in any man to determine, Rather then I will make a wound in my conscience, a breach betwene God and my Soule; rather then

M. Alb's Sermon.

May 17. 1642.

p. 6.

D. Smiths Ser.
May 29. 1641.
Page 33.

pag. 46.

M. 1. cy. p. 24.

Esay 45. 7.

I wil violate a sacred Vow, (my Oath of Allegiance) & transgresse the command of my God, (Honour the King, 1 Pet. 2. 17. Resist him not, Rom. 13. 2.) I will run the greatest hazards that can be imagined. And indeed it can hardly be imagined, what hazards we undertake, yea what calamities we undergoe, in the Courts of Justice, shall I say, of Injustice? (Justly doe we complaine of *Summum jus* in the Committees.) *Nicolaus Clemangus* said, that there was more justice in hell, then was in that Kingdome; and may we not say the same of ours as truly? Take but his reasons along with you. In hel (saith he) there is no just or innocent man oppzessed or wronged. And againe, In hell there is none unjust or wicked scapes unpunished. But alas, what unjust extorsions, what oppzessions and cruelties doth our Land groane under? (In our Land the Accused unheard, the Witnesses unsworne: Centuries have been defamed, and millions put into prison, and out of their Estates, onely for suspicion of being loyall to their King?) (what plundering of neighbours, profaning of Churches, and blaspheming of our King have passed unpunished?) The Prophets often call such, Bloudie sins, and shedding of blood: and truly what is a mans livelyhood, other then his life? (and truly what is the Sequestration of a mans estate first, and then to put him in prison?) Jerusalem, where the seats and thrones of judgment were, was soz this called a bloudie citie. Let our adversaries consider this, and tremble: whilst we comfort our selves in that of the Apostle, as if directly spoken to us, *It is a righteous thing to God, so recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Iesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty Angels, 2 Thes. 1. 6, 7. Even so Lord Iesus come quickly, Amen.*

I will not cover, but rather endeavour to strengthen my weaknesse. I confesse my selfe too much affected with passion of mine own miserie; yet more with passion of my wife and children, if they should become miserable. Yet concerning them, I am thus encouraged: Indeed we use to speak of them with a terme of propriety, *My wife, and My children*; but our title to them is not Originall, but Derivative from God: for it is God that killeth and maketh alive. And this he doth not onely *de facto*, but *de jure*; he hath not onely a Power to doe so, but a Right also. For we are all of us unto him, as the clay in the hands of the Potter, not onely to make us vessels of honour and dishonour as he pleaseth, but (when we are made) to dash us in pieces if we please him not. Shall I then be displeased with him, when (in the

the miserie or death of my wife and children) *God doth what he will with his owne?* Wherefore, I must equall that Heathen, saying of them, *Novi esse mortales*, I know they are mortall, subject to death naturall, or violent, as it pleaseth God. Nay I must excell him, and with a better spirit (the sweet expression of holy Job) say, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord.* I will labour for the spirit of the Primitive Martyrs, who freely offered their children unto God, rejoicing that they were laid so sweetly, and so safely in Gods armes. I remember how God dealt with Job; how after his long patience under soze calamities, the Lord was pleased to refresh his soule, and to give him twice as much as he had before; onely he had no more children given him then he had at first. Why were not they doubled likewise? Surely he had them double; because the former were not lost, who were lockt up safe in heaven. Now, I know not how soone, I may see my children sacrificed in this Cause of God, (and of our King) and at length I may taste of death herein my selfe. *The will of the Lord be done.*

Thus the feare of some is for their wife and children; yet my feares are rather multiplyed for our Brethren, and our deare Mother, the Church of England; the government whereof is menaced, even to extirpation. Matters of Religion lye a bleeding, all government and discipline of the Church is laid in her grave, and all putredinous vermine of both Schismatics and frantick Sectaries glorie in her ashes, making her fall their owne rising, to mount our Pulpits, to offer strange fire, to expell the gravest, ablest, and most eminent Ministers in this Kingdome, (if not out of their Pulpits, yet) out of the hearts of the people, as a company of weak men, Formalists, Time-servers, no Ministers of Christ, but limbs of Antichrist, having no Calling, except from the Devill, and forsake our Church, as Babylonish and Antichristian; so as in short time they wil not leave us the face of a Church, yea there will be a successe against us. For, I am almost confident, that whensoever God indeed delivers England, (and the English Church) we must be at such a losse, as we shall give all for a lost Cause; and then when our strength is gone, *Now will I rise, (saith God) now will I be exalted, now will I lift up my selfe.* You may reade in one of the Psalmes, that the Church was as neare to destruction, as a Lamb sticking between the teeth of a Lion was to be devoured, and yet God took the prey out of his teeth; and as neare to destruction as the bird is to catching which is salne into the net, and intangled, and yet God brake the net, and the bird escaped;

Mat. 23. 15.

D. Smith, p. 34

Job 1. 21.

pag. 44.

Job 42. 10.

Job 1. 2.

42. 13.

D. Baynes Ser.

Nov. 5. 1641.

pag. 6.

M. Case, p. 159.

M. Sedgew. p. 7

pag. 8.

ped : And againe, as nere to destruction as the bzand is to burning, which is thzowne into the fire, and yet God hath snatched the Church out, even as a fire bzand is snatched out of the fire. When Peter was fettered in prison, and the next day to be executed, yet God by an Angel delivered him. When the thre Childezen were cast into the fiery foyrnace, yet God preserved them. When Daniel was thzown into the Lions den, yet God kept him. When Abraham was lifting up the knife to kill Isaac, yet God staid his hand. Notwithstanding ye must distinguish betwixt a particular person, and betwixt a Church: It may sometimes so fall out, that the cruell designes of the wicked aduersary may prevaile to the destruction of this or that individuall person, (if that may be styled a destruction, which yet virtually redounds to the enlarging of the Church, soz seed when it is sowne multi plyeth the moze, and *sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesia: Facundi sunt Martyrum cineres*) but they shall never prevaile to the ruine of the Church. Herod, Act. 12. 2. killed Iames with the sword, yet ver. 24 soz all that the Word grew and multiplied. It is one thing to take a rafter out of the house, and another to demolish the house it selfe; to lose a board in a ship, and another to lose the ship it selfe. It is with the Church in persecution, as it is with wheat in the tiffing; perhaps some graines may slip thzough, and yet the bulk may, and doth remaine behind. The aduersaries must learne the Art to kill God, as they have already the malice to fight against God, before they shall be able utterly to destroy the Church of God: For God (when they come to the destroying work, to root out his Church, *Extirpation*) will certainly insatuate and prevent them. Wherefore I beseech you, when you heare of Policies, use meanes, but still trust on Gods wisdom; when of Power, use means, but still trust on Gods Omnipotencie; when of contrary Events, use meanes, but still trust on Gods Fidelitie. Though Pen may fail you, though Friends may faile you, though Strength may faile you, though Expectations may faile you, though Reason, though Counsel, though your owne Hearts may faile you, yet, yet still depend on God; He yet never hath failed, he never, never will faile, noz forsake the righteous, who dare trust upon him.

pag. 9.

pag. 32.

I will conclude our Encouragements with the Consolations which I will borrow from M. *Harris* his Laconismes, short sentences, & from M. *Burroughes* his larger Exhortations. O ye loyall Subjects of the King of England, and true lovers of the Church of England, think upon *Ester*; *What! a woman masculine, and we womanish! God is patient; must*

M. Harris Ser.
to the House of
Com. May. 25.
1642.

must not the Saints? Else we question sometimes his Truth, most times his Care. His will be His, and He will be Theirs, if it be not long of them. Blush we at our boldnesse, who take upon us to controll, or confine the Almighty God. What is this but to charge God with foolishnesse, which Job did not? What is this but to set the Sunne by our Dyall? A great sawcinesse it is to confine the Almighty. Now he must help, or never. This way, or no way. By this Parliament, or by no Parliament. (By this Army, or by no Army.) Stop for shame. The fault is ours, not his, if we be not seasonably holpen. Gods hand is not shortned: his care is not deafned. He is able, he is willing to doe us help. Where is the hindrance then? He tels us, Your sins keep good things from you. We speak much of a Malignant party; But shall I tell you? Our sins be the Malignant party. These stop the ears of God again^e us.

A spirit of true courage, hath all its fears swallowed up in the fear of God: it hath learned to feare nothing but God; it sets the feare of God against all feares. One man feareth poverty, but I feare the God of heaven; another feares reproach, but I feare the God of heaven; another imprisonment, but I feare the God of heaven; another death, but I the God of heaven. If our estates, or lives should be lost, suppose the worst, they will be lost honourably, (for our King.) The losse of them will be better then that enjoyment we shall have of them, (if I may call it an enjoyment) that we are like to have of them, if nothing now be ventured. What will our Estates, or our lives be worth, if our Religion be gone, the Saints be fled, imprisoned, (as they are already) or massacred? when our Liberties are gone, (as they are gone already) our lives will then hardly be worth the account of the lives of men, (such they are already) much lesse of Christians. We must be very greedy of a life, who desires it upon such termes. We read of Anchises, Eneas his father, when Eneas would have saved his life in such a way as he judged not honourable, he maketh this Answer, Absit ut excisa, possim supervivere Troja! (So lay we, God forbid that I should over-live our Church) If it be spoiled, what is my life worth? Will our lives be worth the taking up in the street, if we over-live our Religion, Liberties, and our Church? If we die (courageously in this good Cause) we shall free our selves from many temptations, we shall honour our profession, (we shall appeare loyall to our King) we shall doe God abundant service, and at last have an abundant entrance into the everlasting Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God blessed for evermore, Amen.

Mat. 8. 16.

Hitherto have I spoken out of our *Adversaries* mouths; now I will speak a little out of *mine owne heart*. *Why are we fearfull, O we of little faith?* We beleeve that we have a *Good Cause*. The contrary Cause is palpably, perniciously bad. Our *Adversaries* to warrant them in their *war against their King*, have not one *Precept from the Word*, nor one *Statute of our Law*; thereby they evacuate the *Crosse*, and extirpate *Martyrdome*; their drift is to extirpate the *Government of our Church*, which we have received from the *Apostles*, and the *wo'ship of our God*, which we have received from the *Martyrs*. But we beleeve, that we have a *good Cause*, a *good King*, and a *good God*; doe we, can we yet *fear*? Our Cause is very good, though our Case be very bad. We suffer for our King, with our King: our King doth suffer for the Lawes, for the Church, for his *Prerogatives hereditary*, and for our *Liberties*. Our sufferings are *Infamie*, *Imprisonment*, *Plundering of our Goods*, *Sequestring of our Estates*, *Calumnies*, *Contempts*; *Preachers* are divorced from instructing their *Flocks*, *Parents* from educating their *Children*; All from the sacred, settled, solemn service of our God. We are threatened (and some have felt it) with the *Gallowes*, and *Gallies*; to be banished into *Africa*, and *America*; to be sent into *New-England*, or to be sold into *Argiers*: besides, the burning of our houses, the stealing of our cattle, the killing of our Countrymen, and the profaning of our Churches; the barbarous effects of our bloody Civil War.

Rom. 8. 18.

All this is *Pressura*, our heavy oppression; for which we shall be rewarded with *usura*, an heavenly retribution. For, *I reckon that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us*. Hereby our foes become our friends; they effect our weale, who affect our woe. Like *Jason Phereus*, they prevent our death by stabbing us, and heale our soules by siniting our bodies: they become the instruments of our *sanctification*, *mortification*, and *salvation*. For, *we know that all (these) things work together for good, to them that love God*. Which we know we doe, by our suffering of these things for, and by our continuing loyall to his Anointed.

Rom. 8. 28.

And for the conspiracie of the mighty, the combination of the multitude, and the concurrent Covenancing of two Nations; in the conclusion will be but a staffe of reed, but a spiders web: these will faile them, by these they shall never soile us, totally nor finally; they may prevaile against our Persons, but never against our Cause. For, *If God be for us, who can be against us?*

See Rom. 8.

31, 32, 33, 34,
35, 36, 37, 38,
39.The Ordin. for
the Ordinati-
on, p. 10.

The Covenant

25. Sept. 1643.

Artic. 1. & 6.

Here therefore as we are taught by the Assembly, and commanded by the Parliament, we promise to maintain the Truth of the Gospel, and the unity of the Church against Error and Schisme; and we will continue in this against all trouble and persecution. And with hands (and hearts) lifted up to the most high God, we do sweare that we will according to our callings and places, in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdome, assist and defend (our Kings sacred Majesty) and shall not suffer our selves, directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, perswasion or terror to be withdrawne (from this blessed obedience and Loyaltie.) So God help me. Amen. Amen. Fiat. Fiat.

The fearfull shall have their portion in the lake, Rev. 21. 8.

Da Domine quod jubes, & jube quod vis. Aug.

My grace is sufficient for thee: my strength is made perfect in weakness, 2 Cor. 12. 9.

F I N I S.



A Moderate

20

ANSWER TO

Mr. Prins full Reply

To certaine Observations on his first
Twelve Questions :

Wherein all his Reasons and Obiections
are candidly examined and refuted.

A short description of the Congregationall
way discovered.

Some Arguments for indulgence to tender Consciences
modestly propounded.

By the same Author.



LONDON,

Printed for Benjamin Allen, and are to be sold at his
shop in Popes head Alley at the signe of the

Jan: 27.

Crowne. 1645. 1644

ANNUAL

REPORT

OF THE



OF THE

LIBRARY

OF THE

CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES



A Moderate Answer to Master *Prinnes*
 Booke, called,
 A FULL REPLY.



Will not stand upon the many loose passages and hard speeches that this Reply is full of, desiring rather the opening of truth, then the discovery of any mans corruptions; wise men (that must see us both) will judge us, not by our words, but by our reason. If truth be on his side, surely he hath very much spoiled her beautifull face with his black and uncharitable language. Truth is most glorious in her owne garments, whatever men cloath her with but her owne apparell doth but deforme her: If this be her attire that Master *Prinnes* presents here arrayed in, certainly she hath changed her forme, she never came out so of the bosome of Christ, she was never wont to appeare among the Saints in such a garbe; passion and railing were never wont to be her companions; peace, gentlenesse, and meeknesse ever attended her as handmaids: How little of this waits on his Reply, let any that was ever acquainted with such a spirit, judge. In the very title-leave he cryes out (an anonymous Author ashamed of his name;) were you ashamed of your name (Sir) when you put forth *The unbishoping of Timothy and Titus? The quench Coale? The Abbreviate?* all which you owne in this Reply; You that writ *The Anatomy of Independency; The mystery of Iniquity; The Subjects liberty*, all without your name; call in your Books, write no more, *You are ashamed of your names*: You are not ignorant of the many worthy things that have beene put forth without a name, there be many reasons may be given for it; it is not the name but the thing; not who

with, but what is written, that will satisfy. The truth is, we are false into times wherein (as *Tertullian* of old complained) men receive *fidem ex hominibus, non homines ex fide*. I desired naked truth might appear, though I was not scene in the setting of it forth; in his Preface he cries out, *He is hated, envied, persecuted, for telling of the truth*. If to answer be to envy, hate, &c. no truth of Christ can lawfully be stood for; surely the Spirit of Christ never taught you to judge so harshly of those who onely labour to vindicate the truth of Christ, and friendly to examine your ungrounded queries about it. To passe over many other things, which to speake to will rather fill up the paper then be satisfactory: observe but one or two of these reasons he gives for his writings, by way of question.

In his Preface
to independ-
ency exami-
ned, &c.

First, that he saith the Independents had never dogmatically (to his knowledge) resolved or discovered in print what that Church-government is they so eagerly contend for; and yet take notice, he confutes them, urgeth these Queries as his Reasons: What a contradiction this is, let all judge: how a man can confute that in an opinion which he knowes not to be held in it; and out-argue that he never knew dogmatically resolved on, is beyond my intellectuals to conceive. Neither I (saith he) nor any one writer ever discovered it, and yet Master *Prinne* hath confuted it unanswerably, For that (saith he) he seriously professeth before God, Angels, or men, that he could never yet discover the least footsteps of it in Scripture, Antiquity, &c. I shall only pray that God would anoint your eyes with the eye-salve of the Word, that you may see these truths of Jesus Christ which are yet hid from your eyes, which many precious Saints humbly conceive they see, and so see that (if God should call them) are willing to seale their sight with their blood. But to the matter.

To the first question he saith, I give no answer, but onely misreciteth the question without his limitations, and then refute what my selfe propounded, not he; he should have shewne wherein, and then might justly have challenged me for it; I shall intreat the judicious Reader but to compare both. It seems Master *Prinne* is ashamed now to thinke that there is no positive rule in the Word for Church-government, but that it may be suited to States. He saith, I should have exactly proved by direct Scriptures that Christ hath prescribed one set immutable forme of Government to all Christians, Nations, &c. from which none must vary in a tittle; and then have proved from Gospels

Gospel Texts, that which he calls independencie to be this Government, but in this Point the Respondent is wholly silent, and I shall expect (saith he) his Answer Ad Green Calendas. Observe (Reader) that yet he saith in the following words, I endeavour to prove it: to say nothing, to be wholly silent, and to endeavour to prove a thing, to me can have no better title, then a grosse contradiction: but to the thing.

First, Whereas he requires of me, as in the former words, so here, a full discovery of Church-government in the word; and this is that he in all his papers demands, that we will fully discover this Government in the word.

I answer: First, If by a full discovery, he meanes that we say all that can be said of it in the word, or is laid up there: it is *Iniquum posulatum*, most unjustly demanded; for even *In credendis*, in matters of faith, neither Master *Prin*, nor any else is able to say all that can be said of it, or fully to discover the many things that the word holds forth to be beleaved for salvation; God reveales more and more of the Gospel every day in a fuller and clearer manner; much lesse can any man, as yet, discover what is required for matter of Government: As for our parts, we are far from such a thought, that we know all things in the word about Church-government; but that more of it may be still revealed, and we daily search, and wait for more knowledge in it.

But secondly, if he meanes we should discover what we hold concerning it, let him know, that for what we hold in it, we can evidence from Scripture every particular, and as much as is needfull in this Controversie.

For the matter of a Church, that it should be Saints, we conceive it to be evident from these Scriptures, *Rom. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 2. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Ephes. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1.* and in *vers. 7. ὁ ἵνα ὁ ἐκείνους*, its a righteous thing for me to judge so of you all; now the Apostle wrote to them as they were Churches of Christ; and to explaine what they were, he calls them Saints; such, as it were an unrighteous thing to judge otherwise of them; and its reason that members of Churches should be thus judged Saints, because all the Ordinances that Christ hath left, its for to build up the Church; they are to be administred in the Church; now none have right to the Ordinances but Saints, and therefore none may be admitted but such as can be judged so by the Saints.

Againe, for the former, which we say is consent or agreement

(whether by covenant or any other way, we stand not on it) we conceive first, it ariseth from the nature of the thing, the Church being a politick body, wherein is rule and authority, nothing but free consent or agreement to walk in such wayes can constitute it, as in all other policies: What makes *England* as a Commonwealth, or as a Church to be such a policie, but the consent of the people, who have given up themselves to be governed by such Laws and Constitutions.

Secondly, if this be not granted, there can be no distinction of Churches in the world, but all must be under one power: for what makes *England* as a Church distinct from *Scotland*, or *Scotland* from all Churches, that they have no authoritative power over each other, but onely this, that the members of *England*, or *Scotland*, have not consented to walk under any other power but their own? Surely the bounds of Seas or Rivers can no more distinguish Churches, then a wall or a doore can, if there be no other distinction; and no other thing but consent can forme a Policie.

Besides, Scripture is no way silent for the proof of this: Not to urge many, that place is famous, and may serve for all, in *Act. 9. 26.* *Paul* after he was converted, it is said, *Assayed to joyne himselfe to the Disciples at Jerusalem*; and the word is, *κονασσαι*, which signifieth, *to be glowed to them*: Now observe, *Paul* was converted, and a Saint, yet not joynd to the Church, he was in that place where they were, he was joynd to them as they were Saints, yet he was not joynd to them as a Church; and this joyning was not Physicall, but Morall: Now this must be done by free consent, and willing subjection to the Ordinances, or no way.

For the ordinary Officers of the Church, they are Pastors, Teachers, *1 Cor. 12. 28. Ephe. 4. 11.* Teaching-Elders, and Ruling-Elders, *1 Tim. 5. 17.* Deacons, *Acts 6. 1 Tim. 3.* Widows, *1 Tim. 5. 9. Rom. 16. 1.* That the Church hath power of choosing its own Officers, is cleare from *Acts 1. 21. Acts 6. 3.* and Chap. 14. 23.

That a Church is but one Congregation, having power within it selfe to exercise all the Ordinances, is apparent in the new Testament, neither do we read of any other there: First, the word (*ἐκκλησία*) used for the Church, signifieth no other; neither hath it any other signification in the new Testament, when referred to any visible Company; neither is it used by any profane

Author

Author for to note out a larger Society then could meet together in one place : For the Church at *Jerusalem*, it was but one Church, *Acts* 2. 46. and 5. 12. and 6. 1. and 15. 25. and 21. 22. and 25. 22. so the Church of *Antiochia* was but one Church, *Acts* 14. 27. they are said to gather the Church together; now that could not be the Elders, for, for Elders onely the word Church is never used ; and the same persons that are called the Church, *vers.* 27. are in *vers.* 28. called the Disciples : and *Chap.* 15. 1. the Brethren : so *Acts* 11. 26. the same persons are called the Church, Disciples, and Christians. Besides, the Church of *Corinth* was but one Church, was but one particular Congregation, *1 Cor.* 5. 4. *1 Cor.* 14. 25. *1 Cor.* 11. 17. *vers.* 23. *In uno & eodem loco* : neither can the word (*ἐκκλησία*) ever be shewed to signifie any thing else besides one particular Assembly, as learned *Baines* wel observes. I shal conclude this with quoting of what that judicious Divine *D. Ames* saith in this particular, *Med. p.* 190. *Hinc variae Congregationes fixae ejusdem Regionis ac Provinciae plurali numero semper appellantur Ecclesiae, non una Ecclesia, etiam in Judea quae tota fuit antea una Ecclesia Nationalis, 1 Thef. 2. 14. Acts 14. 23. and 15. 41. Rom. 16. 4. 5. 16. 1 Cor. 16. 1. 1. 19. 2 Cor. 8. 1. 18. 19. Gal. 1. 2. 22. 1. Rev. Ecclesiae enim ille particulares quae in N. T. commemorantur, convenire solent, cum id autem, neque in toto N. T. legitur de institutione Ecclesiae amplioris a quo minores Congregationes penderent, &c.* Thus you see a short description and discovery of what we hold about Church-government, with some Scriptures in stead of others that move us to this way : The Reasons and Grounds I doubt not but we shall see at large when that shall be made publike which our Brethren have urged in the Assembly, and presented to the Parliament. But to proceed :

For that part wherein he saith, I should have proved that Christ hath set one immutable forme of government, and have made it out by direct Scriptures, besides what is laid down in the Observations (which I doubt not to make good against his cavills :) I thought Master *Prin* had read learned Master *Parker*, *de Eccles. Pol. Contriv.* and the most of the Nonconformists, who though Presbyteriall in their judgement, yet have largely proved that ; to whom I shall refer him for larger satisfaction. I know none that ever writ against the immutableness of a forme of Church-government in the new Testament, but Episcopall, and Pontificall men, as *Hooker*, *Bilson*.

The judgement of the Church of *Scotland* is quite contrary: For they assert their Presbytery to be *Jure Divina*, and holds its Title onely from heaven; it seems the Presbyterians differ as well as the Independants, and they are also various in their judgements, some think there is no forme of government, others that there is. But to the Arguments:

Exod. 25. 40.

Heb. 8. 5.

Heb. 9. 10.

First, I said, if this were granted, the Gospel would be straiter then the Law, Christ more unfaithfull then *Moses*: and the Argument lies thus according to his own drawing: if God set a pattern to *Moses* of every thing to be done in the Church, from which he was not to vary upon any termes, these being but carnall Ordinances comparatively: then he hath prescribed a forme of government in the new Testament to all Churches, Nations, &c. from which they may not vary: but the former, *Ergo*, the *Medium*, or ground of arguing between these two is from the care that God hath of the Church at all times, being one and the same, rather more in the new Testament. God had shewed lesse care over his Churches now than then, if he had not prescribed a set Government for them also; besides, their Ordinances had been more spirituall far then ours; for that which God directly appoints, is more spirituall then what man appoints in Gods worship; though for the kinde more noble, and the use in reason far more excellent: To this he saith in generall thus; That if I, or any other, can shew him such a patterne, so clearly delineated in the new Testament, as that in the old, he will beleve my sequell, else he shall judge it a meere independent Argument to this before; Master *Prin* knows its a good way of reasoning, if the same ground hold the same consequence: we are sure, for your Presbyteriall-government you cannot have the least direct Texts, and you are faine to go to miserable extorted consequences, &c. there is nothing that we hold, but we will shew in cleare Scriptures, as before: where did you, or any one ever read of either name, or thing of a classicall Presbytery, of a Provinciaall, or Nationall Synod, either alone, or by way of subordination?

He goes on in way of Answer, and saith, if this consequence will follow, then this must needs also.

God prescribed to *Moses* the expresse patterne and fashion of *Aarons* and his sons garments, &c. under the Law, Exod. Ergo, He hath likewise shewed the expresse patterne, fashion, and colour of all Bishops, Presbyters, and Ministers garments under the Gospel. How

How weake this absurdity is that he labours to fasten on this Argument, let wise men judge.

First, I say not, That what ever was commanded in the old Testament must be commanded now for the matter of it, if my meaning had been so, this consequence had been good; but when I argue from the exact description of every thing in the old Testament, to the like in the new, I argue from the equity, and common reason that is in the thing; there was something in the Ceremonies, and in their forme of worship that was *Juris Moralis, & Naturalis*; the equity of which remaines for ever, and the Apostle argues from it in severall places: as that God should be worshipped after his own way, and according to his own prescript, not through mens inventions, &c. As for the matter of the things commanded in the old Testament, these things that were Ceremonies then, and had a spirituall signification, are but circumstances now, and not to be regarded, as Place, Garments, &c. You shall finde the Apostle arguing thus from this very head and instance in that *Heb. 8. 5*. See that thou do all things according to the patterne in the mount; he speaks this of Christs Priestly Office, and proves that Christ was a true and reall Priest, and he proves it by this, because all the Priests of the Law served but to the example of heavenly things; and they had their Commission onely from heaven, God gave it *Moses* in the mount: surely then Christ (saith the Apostle) must needs be a reall high Priest, in whom all these things are fulfilled eminently: and he instanceth in this of the Tabernacle, which could not prove it but by reason of the equity of the thing; and its one of *Calvins* Observations from the place; *Hic docemur perversos esse omnes cultus & adulteros, quos sibi proprio ingenio, & citra mandatum Dei, comminisci homines permittunt; nam cum prescribat Deus ut fiant omnia secundum suam regulam, nihil penitus alienum facere licet*; He applies this to all worship in generall, and that from the equity of the thing it selfe.

To quell this Argument, saith he further: 1. The patterne in the mount was meant onely of the materialls, forme, utensils of the Tabernacle, not of the Government and Discipline; therefore very impertinent to prove a feeld form of Church-government.

Ans. I never said that the Tabernacle was a patterne of Church-government, and therefore that will not answer; for grant it to be a prescribing of the materialls, &c. yet there is as great a reason that God should prescribe the forme of govern-

See Exo. 26,
21, 22, 23, 24,
25, 26, 27.
Chapters.

ment as that; and God did prescribe a forme of government to them, from which they could not vary; I onely Instance in this, because the Apötle makes use of it, to prove as different the thing, as this: there was nothing to be done either in Church or Commonwealth, but was discovered to *Moses* as a rule for him to walk by, which he could not vary from in a tittle; & there is a great reason it should be so now, because the Ordinance and Government of the Church is more spirituall. The Materials of the Tabernacle he grants were exactly prescribed; and why not then the particulars of Government, seeing it is as great an Ordinance as that?

Secondly, he saith, *It was shewed to Moses the Temporall Magistracie, not to Aaron or any independant Priest; and therefore if there be any consequence from this, Kings, Parliaments, &c. ought to prescribe, and set up such a Church-government as is according to the word, &c.*

I answer, its no matter at all, neither doth it a jot prejudice my consequence to whom it was discovered, whether *Moses* or *Aaron*, they were not to vary from it; and there is as good reason for Church-government as that: but let me ask a question or two of you, seeing you have urged that.

First, Was this discovered to him, *Qua* a Magistrate, under that consideration onely, or no?

Secondly, If to him as a Magistrate, then where will you finde a correlate to *Moses* now?

Thirdly, Whethen as a Magistrate he durst prescribe any thing more in a tittle, or any thing besides the patterne in the mount, let Magistrates shew us what they have received immediatly as the minde of God, and we will as willingly take it from them as any; durst *Moses*, though chiefe Magistrate in a prudentiall way for the good of the people, prescribe any thing besides the patternes much lesse may any now, who never had the minde of God revealed to them as *Moses* had.

In fine, saith he, *If there be any expresse unalterable form, pray, inform me why it was not as punctually described in the new Testament, as the forme of the Tabernacle.* To which is answered againe, that it is as punctually described, as hath been formerly shewen. Nay, saith he, *why was the Tabernacle altered into a Temple different from it, and why did the second Temple vary from the first in the same Church and Nation?*

I answer: I never said that God tied himselfe so, as he could not alter the frame of Government, but that no man could; if God will.

will change the Tabernacle into a Temple, its his pleasure, and that is our rule, but none else could do it; had *David* or *Solomon* done it without a word from heaven, what thanks would they have had? It was a sinne in *Jeroboam* to set up places of worship in *Dan* and *Bethel*, when God said they should go onely to *Jerusalem*; though afterwards God changed it, and made every place fit to lift up pure hands to God in. Besides, God changed things among the Jewes according to the fitnesse and conveniencie of their condition; the Tabernacle was made, as suiting with their condition in the wilderness, being fit to carry up and down with them: but when they were become a settled nation, rich and wealthy, and in peace, then God commands to build a Temple. Under the Gospel its otherwise; Christ being come himselfe, as King of his Church, hath made a covenant with no nation under heaven, but in every nation he that feares him is accepted with him; his Laws being onely spirituall, and that concerning the conscience: it suits with the condition of all Saints, and may be practised in every Kingdome, neither can it be altered, the Laws written in the new Testament being the last that ever shall be given to the Churches for ever; so that Master *Prins* Reasons against this Argument will not hold when they are truly tried.

To that part of the Argument wherein it is said, that Christ should be more unfaithfull then *Moses* if he should not prescribe a set unalterable Discipline in the word, he answers nothing: whereas the Apostle urgeth it in *Heb.* 3. 2. 5. 6. *Moses* was faithfull in his own house as a servant, but Christ as a son: wherein lay the faithfulness of *Moses*, but in declaring faithfully what God had prescribed to him in the governing of the Church, and ordering all things, which concerned the worship of God, according to the patterne given in the mount? Now how much more unfaithfull then *Moses* should Christ be if he should not as eminently do the like to his own house? For it was not onely matters of Doctrine, and the foundations of Religion, that *Moses* was faithfull in prescribing to the people, but all the Ceremonies and parts of instituted worship, to which Discipline is to be referred; he did not onely give them the Decalogue, but every thing that was to be practised by them, even to a pin of the Tabernacle, and therein lay his faithfulness. And is not Christ as faithfull as *Moses*?

To the second Argument: That Christ should neither be faith-

full as a husband, head, nor King of his Church, if he should give others power to order it as they pleased to their own civil government, not setting down his own Laws for them to walk by: *he saith, it is both a fallacie and absurdity, yet he shews neither. That he says to make it good, is this: That one may be as faithfull a Husband, Head, King, though he lay not down particular Lawes to regulate his Wife, Subjects, &c.* To which I answer: That it is against the law of nature to require obedience of a Subject, Wife, &c. in things immediately appertaining to a Husband, King, and not to prescribe rules of obedience; and its greatest unfaithfulness that can be, to leave these that are committed to ones care and trust to others to rule and order, who cannot do for them as the party intrusted can: Should the Parliament be faithfull to the Kingdome, if they should not make particular Laws for the governing of it, but leave it either to others, or else set down generall, dark, confused things, like so many blanks, and *Et cetera's*, that every one may adde what they will? Either the Government of the Church is a part of Christs Kingly Office or not, if it be, he cannot be faithfull if he prescribes not particular Lawes for them to walke by: Besides, either the Discipline of the Church is spirituall, and to edification, or not; and if it be spirituall, then none can prescribe it but Christ; for that is onely spirituall in instituted worship, which hath Christs Precept for it: Neither will the giving of generall rules take away this blemish, as that *Rom. 14. 40. Let all things be done decently, and in order, (which you call a generall rule for Church-government:)* for every particular Office, and Ordinance in the Church, is for to effect some supernaturall end, to build up the soule in grace; now no Office, or Ordinance, can do that, but onely what is instituted by Christ to that end: For that place in the *Corinthians* I spake somewhat of it in the Observations, and I wonder he past it over without mentioning; for these words, *Let all things be done decently, and in order*, is onely meant of ordering things in a Church already constituted, not of giving rules for the constitution of it; and the words import nothing lesse: for what is order but a fit disposing of things already made and constituted in their proper place, it being a word taken from martiall Discipline, where every man is set in his Rank and File according as occasion is. Now you shall finde the Apostle applying of it so in the place quoted, for he speaks it to regulate the exercise of Prophesie in that Church; and whereas they were

were wont to use that Ordinance confusedly, one speaking when another spake, he tells them they might all speak one by one, if they would but stay before each other had done; and then layes down this as a rule to direct in the exercise of this, and all other Ordinances; *Let all things be done decently, and in order*: I wonder how men that are not lost in prejudice, that have any intellectualls about them, can so mistake this place, as to say its a generall rule of prescribing a forme of Church-government left arbitrary to any people: seeing neither the signification of the words, nor the coherence of the place, hath the least shadow of such an interpretation: where the fallacie of this Argument lies, I cannot as yet discern, much lesse where the absurdity is which Master *Prin* hath charged it with.

His third Argument (saith he) is that Revel. 11. 1, 2. we read of a measuring of the Temple, and Revel. 21. 1, 2. of the new Jerusalem coming out of heaven, &c. Ergo, There is a settled divine Church-government universally prescribed to all Christians in the new Testament: To this he saith nothing in answer, either to the interpretation of the place, or the application of it to this particular: onely he seems to retort: First, That this is no better proofe of this Assertion, then the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus* is of our Prelates Lordly Hierarchie *Jure Divino*: but how, or wherein the parallel holds he shews not; yet this he thinks is a full Answer.

Secondly, (he saith) *I might as well, yea more properly conclude thence That the Altar was measured as well as the Temple, Rev. 11. 1. (referring to the Jewish, not Christian Church, which hath no Temple nor Altar:)* Ergo, *We ought to have an Altar, yea one set forme of Altars in all Christian Churches under the Gospel*: Thus far he: What the sense of these words is, I cannot as yet understand, much lesse where the Argument lies; I never thought to have found such a piece of absurdity fall from Master *Prin*'s mouth. His Argument will run thus, if put into forme: If the Temple was measured, then (as an absurdity) the Altar was measured, and if the Altar was measured, which was Jewish and not Christian, then we ought to have an Altar, yea one set forme of Altars under the Gospel: Who doubts but the Altar was also measured? for the Text saith it expressly. Now by Altar was meant the worship, as by Temple the Church, and so its commonly used in all the new Testament; the Altar is put by *Synecdoche*, for all the worship in the Gospel, as the Temple *Piscator* in *Jo.* for the Church; and here Master *Prin* gives a good encouragement CHM.

to the Papists for the maintenance of their Altars, if he will interpret these Scriptures literally. The Apostle saith, *Heb. 13. 10. We have an Altar, &c.* And what can the Papists infer otherwise, if they will argue from the word, but that there may be Altars now? for that he saith, it refers to the Jewish, not Christian Church, if he mean by referring, that there are used the tearms given to the worship and Church of the Jews, its granted; but if (as his words carry it) he meanes that it is meant of the Jewish Church, and the measuring of their Discipline and worship, nothing can be more absurd; because that Church-State they were in was disanulled, and new Ordinances of the Gospel were brought in and the Book of the *Revelation* is not an Historie, but a Prophesie; Nay, the holy Ghost using the same words, and tearms of the worship and Ordinances of the old Testament, in expressing the worship of the new, gives a cleare ground to infer, that as their patterne was punctually described, (*viz* of the Temple and the Altar, &c.) so also now is the worship and discipline of the new Testament signified by these expressions, as punctually prescribed. What is that measuring of the Temple spoken of in *Ezech. 40. and 41. Chap.* but the exact describing of the frame and fashion of it, with the utensils in it? and what must this measuring of the Temple and Altar here be, but the doing the same spiritually? That which is observed from this place of the *Revelation*, is, First, That under the Gospel there is a Temple and Altar; that is, a Church, and worship in it.

Secondly, That this was to be measured; that is, the exact proportion of it taken: now nothing can be measured without a rule, and the following words cleare it, for the holy Ghost speakes of witnesses, who give Testimony to it, and are slain for it: now who would be so used for that which was never written as a rule, but left arbitrary to every nation and kingdome? and that it was worship they witnessed to, is plaine both from the words, Temple and Altar, being never used for doctrine in the new Testament, but for discipline and worship; as likewise from the types and parallel of them, as compare *vers. 4.* with *Zach. 4.* now what did *Josua* and *Zerubbabel* witness to but the worship? Its Master *Erighimus* note upon the place, *Pag. 347.* The true Christian Church is shaddowed out by the types of the old Temple, each part whereof was most exactly decyphered, and measured out in the old, by the commandment of God himselfe, and that unto this end, that men might know that this house is framed by God, and is not made by mans
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might and cunning ; and that therefore they should not take upon them any power to change matters at their pleasure, as if the Divine Willdome had not provided sufficiently to ordaine every thing in the fittest manner that could be : thus far he : So that yet, Reader, you may see that this Argument is not yet quelled, nor the absurdity of it in any measure shewen, how ere the full Replier boasts, and gives it out to the world.

But yet to make this more evident, let this be an Argument : That which tends to the salvation, and edification of the soule, must be appointed by God, and so have the word for its rule ; but such doth discipline in a Church: *Ergo*, The Major is denied by none that I know : yet for instance, the Sacraments, Bread and Wine, and Water, have nothing in themselves, or their own nature, to produce such spirituall effects as they do, but onely because Christ hath instituted them to that purpose, and it is that which gives them such an efficacie ; this was the great, and indeed unanswerable Argument. the Non-Conformist alwayes used against the Ceremonies, that the imposers of them put a peculiar significancie in them, and gave them as helps fit and apt to stir up the dull mindes of men the better to serve God ; as is exprest in the Preface of the Book of Common-Prayer : now, say they, none can give that as a help to build up a mans soule, or to stir him up to any spirituall thing, which in its owne nature hath nothing to produce such an effect, unlesse they can give these things power for the working of it ; and nothing but what comes from God will carry to God.

For the Minor, or assumption, that the discipline of the Church is for salvation, the Apostle is cleare in 1 Cor. 5. 5. speaking of Excommunication, one of the chiefe parts of discipline, saith, It is for the salvation of the soule ; now what is said of that may be said of every part of Discipline, every part being *homogeneall*, and of the same nature : He end this with the saying of Master Brightman, on Rev. 2. p. 50. *The Government of the Church is common to all times and places, and is not permitted to be at the arbitrement of men to follow what they list ; but alwayes in Reforming Churches we must have recourse to the first beginnings, unto the which as our onely rule we must call back what ever strayeth from it, and that they are not to be turned and tuned according to the crookednesse, and jarring sounds of succeeding Churches.*

In the next place, (saith he) He pretends my third *Querie* contradicts the first, because I suppose a Church-government may be consonant to Gods

Gods word in the generall, which is not particularly prescribed in it : a presbyterie fancie (quoth he) as if nothing could be consonant to Gods word, which is not particularized or verbally enjoined in it.

To which I answer, passing by many bitter expressions that follow it, that things to be done in or about the worship of God, are either matters of circumstance, as garments, place, time, &c. such as these come under generall rules of the word, such as that 1 Cor. 14. To let all things be done decently, and that they be consonant to the word, is sufficient : Or else, secondly, Things are such as partake of the nature of worship, and are to edifie, and to attaine a spirituall end ; so nothing is consonant to the word, but what either is punctually exprest, or can be deduced by necessary & immediate consequence, and in this sense its not sufficient that its nowhere denied, unlesse it be some where commanded ; and the reason is this, because matters of instituted worship (as Divines call it) depend onely on the will of God, and there is no necessity in the nature of the things for their appointment : As for example, why God would be worshipped by Sacraments, why excommunication, or other acts of discipline should be appointed as a meanes to save the soule ; there is no reason to be given from the thing, but onely Gods will ; now that is onely exprest in the word, or naturally to be drawne from it : as for things civill, such as he instanceth, as temporall Magistrates, Parliaments, &c. Its left by God to every Common-wealth to fit themselves, and dispose of things, as may be most for their peace and profit ; and consonancie to the Morall and Politick rules of justice and equity, is enough to warrant these undertakings.

From this he passeth to my Anti-queries : First, If no prescript forme (of Church-government) in the word, why not Episcopacie, especially regulated and moderated, as well as Presbytery ?

To which he Answers : If you meane it of Lordly Episcopacie, there are abundant Texts against it, if of moderated and regulated Episcopacie, the same with Presbytery ; if the Parliament by the Synods advice unanimously establish, &c. I shall readily submit to it, and why not you and all others ?

In which, first, let all the world observe : That Master Pryn grants that Presbytery is but a regulated Episcopacie : Oh noble hearted Saints, and well bred Christians of England, who have felt so much the power of Episcopacie, which was the Lion let go about without its chaine, think what Presbytery will be, which is but the same
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Lion in a fether; if ever it break loose, with what redoubled might will it tear and devoure? Episcopacie to be cut off root and branch was one part of that first noble Petition of this famous City, signed with 15000. hands; and doth not that reach Master *Pryn*s Presbytery? This was the great suggestion both in Parliament and elsewhere, among the judicious and godly, that if they should cut the Bishops Locks, a little regulate them, their hair would soon grow again, and pull down the house of the Common-wealth about us all: in a Presbytery there is no more, according to Mr. *Pryn*s own judgement; the Bishops nails will be cut a little to grow out the faster, to claw the forer; or rather, the Bishops power in a Presbytery is dilated from 26. unto 600. what one could not reach to do, you may be sure many will; and as the Bishops would call men *Puritans* and *Non-Conformists*, and so persecute them; so will the Presbytery call men *Schismaticks*, *Hereticks*, *Antinomians*, *Separatists*, and do the like. And whereas it may be said, The Presbytery will be godly men: I Answer, so were the first Bishops of *Rome* in the beginning: and these which are now good may leave the government next to as bad men as may be, and then the misery will be greater, by how much the multitude that have power are greater.

I do not think the Pope is called Antichrist so much because of his Temporall power, as because of his taking such power of jurisdiction over the Consciences of men, prescribing for them Laws to walk by, and punishing men for disobeying: Neither was the Episcopacie unlawfull so much because of their Lordships, as for their supream power they arrogated over the Church, and Consciences of men, and because there were no footsteps for it in the word. *Whereas he saith, if the Parliament and Synod shall establish a Presbytery, he shall readily submit, and askeith why not we?* Let him know, if he can sell away his Judgement and Conscience, we cannot; yet though we cannot go against our Conscience to obey actively, we have learned to submit to Authority passively, if they can in Conscience take any such course with us.

2. Antiquerie was, if Church-government be to be suited to States, whether Politicians are not more fit to consult about it, and why is an Assembly of Divines called?

To which he answers: *That his Position is, that Church-government ought to be suitable to the Word, as also to the Civill State; and therefore*

In this Answer Master Pyngives the greatest ground to hold up the Bishop, powers in States, and so of Ministers also to be Statelinen, as can be, if the civill power and Ecclesiasticall have such a dependance on each other that the one must be suited to the other.

Politicians and Statesmen, and divines are to be consulted with, &c. If by suiting to States he means that the government of Christs Church must be suited to every forme of civill government; then there must be as many sorts of Church-government as there are of civill, which is the greatest confusion that can be; and then you need not put in that clause, *th it is be suitable to the word*, for that is suitable to the word which suits the State; for either there is but one government in the word set down to all, and then it is no matter where it suit the State, for that must be followed what ever States say, or else that government which suits the State is suitable to the word, and then what need such calling and urging the patterne of the best reformed Churches? what have we to doe with a Scottish government, or French, or any, seeing our civill government differs from both? this conceit is the greatest doctrine of Liberty in the world. If by suiting of States he means that the government of Christ should be no disturbance to the proceedings or peace of a State, its granted; and so the congregational way is as suitable to States, as Presbyterie, or any other government in the world.

To the third question he answers, *That it is more fit that the State should be subject to Christs rule then Christ to it, but this question, saith he, is besides the question, untill you prove a set unalterable Government, which I have done sufficiently; yet to say somewhat to what he saith in the following words, whether Christian Princes, Parliaments, Synods, under the Gospel have not power to bind all the Churches under their dominions as the major part of an Independent Church to bind their own members. To which I answer.*

First, if majoritie be considered absolutely in it self; that where there is the greater number or greater part of the Catholick Church, they may make Laws for other Churches; then, another kingdome if it be greater then this, and the numbers of the Church more, may make Ecclesiasticall Laws for this kingdome, yea then that must call in all the Churches in the world in every matter. For where there is more, there is authoritie; yea onely the Catholick Church must rule, and make laws for it self.

Secondly, the reason why the major part of a congregation binds (yet onely in particular actions which concerne themselves, not in prescribing a rule of Church government unto others) is, because of the promise which God hath made with them. *Matth. 18.*

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where two or three are gathered together in my Name, I will be in the midst, saith Christ, when he speaks of the Churches censuring an offender; and this is strength enough to every action, and we need not fear what the matter is that is to be handled, when Christ will be present, we have no such promise to any Societie else.

As for the latter part of the *quere* (saith he) that the Saints think Christ is King alone over his Churches, and hath not left them to substitutes, and the politick considerations of men to be governed by: if (saith he) he means it onely of matters of faith it may passe as tolerable; but if he means of externall Ecclesiasticall government, discipline, or order in the Church, he must renounce his oath of Allegiance, his late Protestation, Nationall vow, and Covenant, &c.

In which observe two things. First, that to hold Christ is King in matters of faith and internall government over mens souls may passe but as a tolerable thing; how to passe by this expression with a lesse character then sleighting Christs kingly office I know not; *bone Deus!* and good Christians, to what passe is Religion come? if this must passe but as a tolerable doctrine, that Christ is sole King of souls, and is it not undeniably without controversies, as true as God himself? and is it not horrid blasphemie to have the least thought to the contrary? the truth is, I wondred when I saw such a mistake fall from Mr. Prymms pen; its no marvell if other things be intolerable to passe, if this be but tolerable.

Secondly, to hold Christ King in externall government, is against the Oath of Allegiance, &c. who told you that the meaning of any Covenant or Protestation intends any such thing? We cannot think the Parliament would be so injurious to Christ as to take away any of his Kingly office from him, as Mr. Prymme would needs affirme; we doubt not but they have learnt to give up the Scepter and supream power of governing the Church to Christ, as Christ hath given the supream power of the Common-wealth to them. In what clause of the Protestation, or Covenant doth this lie, I never found it yet. I know none that ever protested that Christ was not sole King of the Church, and the prescriber of laws to his Church: shew me the clause, and I will unsubscribe to that particular, as being most derogatory to the honour of our heavenly Prince and Lord Jesus Christ.

In his answer to my second *quere*, (saith he) he first *misfully mis-cites it, and then infers a blind obedience from it to all superior commands;

* Charity would have said weakly, be

be they never so unjust or contrarie to the Word, whereas my question onely speaks of lawfull decrees, and consonant to the Word, &c. to which every Christian is bound in conscience to submit, Rom. 13. 1. to 6. 1 Pet. 2. 14, 15. Tit. 3. 1. If any man deny this, he must renounce, not onely his Christianitie, but his Allegiance and huminitie too.

For answer to this, I will not enter into that common place how farre the power of Magistrates may reach in matters of Religion, to the binding the conscience, though I wish it were rightly stated, that Christ might not lose his due, as they might not theirs. Yet I desire humbly to propound one argument to Mr. Pryme, which hath a little puzzled my thoughts: and I desire him not to misinterpret it, as if I went to undermine the priviledge of Parliament, if the Magistrate must be obeyed, as having power to command in matters of Worship, it is either, *qua* a Magistrate, or as a Christian Magistrate: if as a Magistrate, it holds in all, as well Heathen as Christian power, being equall, alike in both, as they are Magistrates: for Civill power is not, as the Papists say, founded in Grace or Religion, but in the compact and agreement of the Common-wealth. whatever belongs to a man, as a man, belongs to every man, be he rich or poore; whatever belongs to a Magistrate, as a Magistrate, belongs to every Magistrate, be he Christian or Heathen; and then the Heathen Magistrates Subjects are as much bound in Conscience to obey what Worship they set up, as Christian Subjects are to obey theirs whom they are under.

If as a Christian Magistrate, then shew your rule, these Scriptures Rom. 13. &c. are spoken in generall of power limited to none, nay they prove directly against you; for the Magistrates, the Apostles and Primitive Saints lived under, were Heathens, not Christians: Againe, if as Christian, then he must be obeyed, because he commands, or for what he commands, either because of his owne power, or the authority of the things themselves; if for the former, then its *qua* a Magistrate, and so it belongs to all, his Authority not arising from his Christianity, but his Magistracie: if for the latter, then its not the Magistrate, but the Word of God that must be obeyed; now that must be seen before it can be followed; there is no greater eating Worme in the Power of Magistracie then to found it in Religion, for thence the Jesuites infer undenyably, if Government belong to Magistrates, as Christian, as religious, then he that is not a Christian Magistrate, is an usurper, and may be deposed.

sed at pleasure; nay indeed he is no more then a private man, when once excommunicated, and all their ensuing commands are not to be obeyed: yea it will come to this, that the Church hath power over States and Kingdomes, for the Church is to deale in all matters of Religion most powerfully, now that is to get States to be their servants, and exercise what power the Church pleaseth upon offenders; besides, if they have power to command, I have no power actually to obey, unlesse my conscience be convinced of the lawfulness of it, for *whatever is not of faith is sin*; to the reason I urged for this, he answers nothing yet further to confirme him.

1. For any to require a man to practise that in the Worship of God, upon paine of Schisme, arrogancie, &c. before a man seeth it to be commanded of God, is to require more then God requires, who would have every man practise according to his light; in naturall Worship indeed God requires obedience of all alike, because they all once knew how to serve God: God gave *Adam* for all his, and men have lost them by their owne default, and though they should never heare the Word, yet they shall be condemned for not serving God in that way, for it was ingraven in every mans heart naturally, but its not so in instituted Worship, which depends meerly on Gods will, for in this God requires we should search to know, but will never punish any man for the not obeying that he searcheth after, prayeth God to reveale, and yet cannot find it to be the mind of God; much lesse should men force men, (who not only have no light in the thing, but their light is against it,) to obey what they conceive is the mind of God.

Its neither a humane nor religious act that is not done with understanding. God would not have us to believe him, without wee see the ground of it in the Word. All Protestant Writers give to every man *judicium private discretionis*, they give the testimony of mans conscience, as one way wherby we know the Word of God to be the Word.

2. That Doctrine that puts upon any man an inevitableness of sinning, may not be admitted, but such doth this, that men must obey what superiours command in the Worship of God, though their judgements be against it: and the *minor* is proved thus by instance, to go against my light and conscience is sin, and to disobey the Magistrates commands is sin, and one I must doe; yea its the greatest hypocrisie that can be, to follow that authority commands, which yet mans conscience thinks is not to be done: besides, what do I know, but the light I have is from the Spirit of God? and if I go against it, I am guilty of resisting and grieving the Spirit, which is the greatest sin that can be.

3. It is the greatest tyranny over mens souls that can be, what can be greater then to make other mens judgments the rule of my conscience,

science, to sweare obedience to that my understanding is against ; surely its the greatest soul-inquisition that can be ; however Master Pryn saith, *I infer a blind obedience from his Position*, I know not how to infer otherwise, for that must needs be blind obedience, when a man must obey (take it in what you will of this kind) that which he seeth not, either exprest, or any way warranted by the Word ; its to put men above God, at least in this place: for if I must obey, because higher Powers judge it so, their power must be the rule of my conscience, which alone is subject to the Word ; and its the greatest baseness of spirit, it dis-ennobles mens spirits, hinders, and utterly crusheth the growth of any ones gifts ; for if other mens judgments must be my rule, and I sin in not submitting to it, what need any man study to find out truth, or with the noble Bereans, to search the Scripture, to see whether these things be so ? give men eyes, and they will soon follow you, else never call for such unlimited obedience.

Againe, what if the Parliament and Synod should erre in setting up a Government, must every one be bound to joine with them ?

To which he answers ; *First, such an oversight is not to be presumed untill it be actually committed; and its neither Christian, charitable, nor any way of Christ, shws to preiudge their resolutions.* And yet you to presume to determine what the Congregationall way is, and censure what effects will follow, though you professe you know not what they hold, and never saw the way exercised ; we know as much of Presbyteriall and its effects, as ever any can speak of the Congregationall, therefore leave off your scandalous Titles of this way, which yet you never saw did commit any thing worthy of them.

As for your sufferings you speak of, I never mentioned them as your shame, though you have made the honour of them lesse then the World thought it was, in that you say, you suffered not for opposing any Ceremony legally established, or the Bishops calling, but their Lordly power ; however you suffered, (and now we are glad we know for what you suffered) yet holy Master *Barton*, for his part, confesseth the contrary, that he suffered for preaching against the Bishops Government, and the Ceremonies. I doubt not, but if ever God shall call us to suffer for this truth, we shall have as much comfort and strength in standing for the Prerogative of King Jesus, as ever you had for maintaining any Statute-Law whatsoever.

In the fifth (saith he) he grants, that Independency will overthrow all Nationall Churches and Synods. 1. Is it not even a turbulent, dangerous, Schismaticall and quiet (that I say not insufferable) Government, which will admit no equall nor corrigible? and thus he goes on with his uncivill calumnies, for many lines. But *bona verba queso*, if you understand the words thus, that in the judgments of these that are of this way, there can be no Nationall Churches according to the Word, so it overthrowes it; but yet only in intellectu, as I may say, they cannot think it to be a Gospel Institution of a Church; as the holding one opinion overthrowes another, so is this, that all Nationall Churches will be overthrowne by your Congregationall way, and this sense (which I meane) deserves not such unworthy Language; but if you take it (as it seems you do) that the Congregationall way cannot live by the other Government, or in a Nation which is a Church, but it will endeavour by force and armes to extirpate, overthrow, unchurch them that disturbe their peace, slay their members, &c. It hath not as yet conceived such a thought, and its contrary to its nature to bring it forth; there is nothing so detestable to our judgements, and, I doubt not, that should be more contrary to our practice, then the disturbing the peace of a Nation, what ever scandall men fasten on us.

To the sixth, he sayes, *I returne no answer, but plainly yeeld that there was never any Independent Church in any age or nation whatever totally converted to the Christian faith, &c.*

If Mr. Pryn understand the words thus, That the congregationall way hath not bene set up as the government of any one Nation, its granted; but that there was never a congregationall Church in any one nation is denied, and it will put him to it to make it out: Nay, for the first foure or 500. yeeres I durst challenge him to produce any other then particular Churches that had the power of censures within themselves; *Justin* and *Irenaeus* knew no kinde of Church in the world which did not assemble on the Sabbath; and as learned Mr. *Baines* proves out of *Enseb. l. 3. 44. lib. 4. cap. 21. and lib. 2. cap. 6.* that Churches at first were but Parishes, and Parishes within Cities, and he quotes *Saint John lib. 3. cap. 23.* saying to the Bishop, *Redde juvenem quem tibi ego & Christus, teste Ecclesia tua, tradidimus.* *Tertullian. Apol. c. 39.* knew no Churches which had not power of censures within themselves, and we hold no more. Saith *Cyprian lib. 4. ep. 1.* Schismes were said to be

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be from hence, *Quod Episcopo universa fraternitas non obtemperat.* And the same Author, *Epist. 55. tota fraternitas, i. e. unius congregationis tota multitudo, ex qua componitur Ecclesia particularis. Sabino de univ-
 erse fraternitatis suffragio Episcopatus fuit delatus.* And againe, *lib. 1. epist. 47. 58. 68. Ecclesie igitur circuitus non fuit major, quam in Episcopatus totam plebem suam in negotiis huiusmodi convocare potuerit.* He which is skil'd in Antiquity, I doubt not but may bring forth multitudes of such testimonies as these; all that we say is, that a Church is a particular congregation of Saints, having power of censures within themselves, and exercising all the Ordinances of Christ. Now this Antiquity proves to be in the primitive times, even many yeeres after the Apostle; but suppose the contrary, that there could not any such footsteps of this way be found in Antiquity, yet have we no ground to thinke its not true; great was the Apostacie of the Churches from the Apostles doctrine; that truth hath beene lost for a long time among the most. It is a great mercy that since that defection from the pure wayes of Christ to Antichrist, there have beene any glimmerings of light preserved, any in secret that might worship him after his owne minde, that any thing hath beene refined and restored to its primitive institution; yet all times are not alike, now God hath in an abundant cleere manner so scattered the mists of Popery and darknesse, hath revealed many truths which formerly lay hid. Unhappy we, if we yet see not more then the godly formerly did, who but then came out of Antichristian darknesse! God is now opening the mysteries of the Gospell, discovering the truths that concerne Christs Kingly Office, & why may not this be one, though never discovered before; or if discovered, yet cruist and made light of. The opinion of the thousand yeeres which was antiently generally condemned for a Heresie, is now imbraced as a precious truth, and maintained by many learned lights, as *Alfede, Mede, Doctor Twisse, Doctor Stoughton*, with divers others. That is ancient which is primitive, and to be found in the Scriptures; neither are the names of these that either have beene of this judgement, or have or doe practise it of meane and contemptible reputation, but they have given sufficient testimony to the world of their learning and godlinesse, as learned *Baines, Ames, Cotton*, with the many in these times, both in New-England, here, and other places, men not a jot behinde any of their Predecessors in the knowledge of the mysteries of the Gospell,

Gospel; yea, anointed with the gifts of the Spirit above most of their fellows: Notwithstanding that you say, that for any reverend godly person, who now contends about this new Modell, though I reverence their persons, and judgements too in other things, yet I cannot subscribe to them in this new dangerous way. Yet those men cannot think you reverence either their persons or judgements, for then you would not be so rash as to condemn what they hold, before you knew what it was, or whether it was so or no; for either you think them judicious and conscientious, or not: if the former, then you would judge what they hold they have ground for: if the latter, that then they durst not practise that is generally opposed without a clear warrant (at least in their own judgements) from the Scriptures: Neither do they desire you should subscribe to their judgements in this or any thing else: yet this is your duty, to give them the right hand of fellowship a while, and not rail on, and condemn with all bitterness the way they practise, untill you had heard what they could say for themselves.

In the seventh (shall be the grant, That the Law of Nature that teacheth men to unite themselves into one nationall State, or civill Government, doth likewise teach them to joyn and subiect themselves to one nationall Church, and to nationall Synods, and Parliaments in point of Church-government.

Let any one judge that reads what I answered, whether there be so much as a shadow for such a mis-recitation: the summe of my Answer was this: That the Law of nature teacheth every man to joyn himself to such a particular Society, where every man may have his personall vote in every thing that concerns him, as well as any one, or a Company to set up either one, or more over them, to whose judgement they will submit, and who shall be the *Ultimum* of all their Appeals and Councils. And that there is as great a suitability betwixt the Law of Nature in a Democracall, and Aristocracall Government (of which the Congregation consists) as in a Monarchie, or mixt Aristocracall. The Liberties of Saints and Subjects differ: though Subjects may put themselves into the hands of others; the Saints cannot: theirs without ingratitude for Christs purchase of them, and disloyalty to his Sovereignty, who alone is King of his Churches: for if I give up my power unto others; I must stand as what they determine, what ever my Conscience be to the contrary; and what if they erre? He that puts the Magistrate into his power over men Consciences, is over many Bodies: yet he saith,

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Gospel; yea, anointed with the gifts of the Spirit above most of their fellows. Notwithstanding that you say, that for any reverend godly person, who now contends about this new Modell, though I reverence their persons, and judgements too in other things, yet I cannot subscribe to them in this new dangerous by-way. Yet those men cannot think you reverence either their persons or judgements, for then you would not be so rash as to condemn what they hold, before you knew what it was, or whether it was to or no; for either you think them judicious and conscientious, or not: if the former, then you would judge what they hold they have ground for: if the latter, that then they durst not practise that is generally opposed without a clear warrant (at least in their own judgements) from the Scriptures. Neither do they desire you should subscribe to their judgements in this or any thing else: yet this is your duty, to give them the right hand of fellowship a while, and not rail on, and condemn with all bitterness the way they practise, untill you had heard what they could say for themselves.

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th. & God hath enjoyed us to be subject to every lawfull Ordinance of man,
and not repugnant to the Word, &c. To which I answer: What if the
 commands be repugnant to direct Consequence of Scripture,
 though not against any expresse Texts? And what if a man thinks
 it repugnant to the Word, must a man obey it? that which to me is
 repugnant to the Word, is my sin if I do it: Besides, what if it
 should be repugnant? Either you must say the Magistrate can com-
 mand nothing repugnant to the Word, and therefore must be o-
 beyed; or else a man must see it in his own judgement not to be re-
 pugnant before he can obey it. God forbid a tittle of the power
 God hath given Magistrates should be taken from them; yet I
 would things were so stated, that Christ might not lose his Prero-
 gative: Matter *Prin* in his other twelve Queries, and the latter end
 of this, labours to perswade the Parliament, that these whom he
 calls Independents, are against the power of Parliaments, on pur-
 pose to make them odious in their eyes. But let that honourable
 Assembly know, that what ever power the Principles of Presbytery
 will give them, the Congregationall way will give much more:
 neither have the Parliament truer friends then they, who will be
 more willing to venture their lives, and sacrifice all they have for
 them; onely this is desired by them, (which they know is the desire
 of that Honourable Assembly) that the Rights and Liberties Christ
 hath purchased by his own precious blood, and left the Saints as
 his last Legacie, may not be taken away by the secular power; as
 that the secular power might not be encroached on by Christian
 Liberty. After this, he goes on to justify his bitter and unchristian
 passage, in comparing our Church-meetings to the Conventicles of
 of the *Arrians, Donatists, &c.* Could you finde no smother or lo-
 vinger comparison to scandalize us by? Can no other title be bad
 enough, but a Conventicle? A name given by the Bishops, and all
 their crew, to all the godly meetings of the Saints. Take heed, that
 you that are so skilled in the Bishops language, come not to take
 up their weapons too; what do you but in one word call us hereticks,
 Schismatics, and the worst of men? For this you say in the Mar-
 that 35. *Eli. c. 1.* none are Conventicles but the meetings of Hereticks,
 and Schismatics, who separate themselves, &c. Though your pas-
 sion would not, yet your charity might have given us better lan-
 guage. You and your Party are very full of these terms, though
 you nor they ever define what Schisme or Heresie is. We desire,

and challenge you to tell us what Heresies we have breached in these Conventicles? In what Fundamentalls do we differ from you which is Heresie? What Acts against the power of godlinesse can you manifest against us? What Treasons have we plotted against the Parliament in our meetings? Should I call you Heretick, and Schismatick, &c. because your judgement is Presbyteriall, would you take it well? The Lord learn you meeknesse, and a more sober Spirit, not to tax so highly, and slander so insufferably, unlesse you make it out that we are such.

To the eighth, he saith, *I answer negatively, and well I may.*

My first Answer was, that the nationall Church of the Jews cannot be a pattern for us now, because the Covenant of the Gospel is not made with any one particular nation, but to all in every nation that beleve; you have no promise nor Prophecie of any nation to be holy to God, but the Jews when they shall be called again.

To which he Replyes, 1. *That the Independents have not the least Precept, or Example for a solemn Covenant, but in the old Testament, and Church of the Israelites; and that no private Congregational, but publick nationall Covenant, prescribed by the supreme temporall Magistrat, and Assembly, yea, the principall Precepts and Presidants for sanctifying the Sabbath, publike or private Fasts, you likewise derive from the old Testament, and that Church; Why should not therefore their nationall Church be a pattern for us? &c.*

To which I Answer: First, For the Covenant, we hold not that such a formall Covenant constitutes a Church; this is enough, that there be an union, whether by Covenant explicate or implicite, or consent; that is certain the Union is Morall, as all other must be that constitute a Policie: yet for that he saith, there is no Precept or pattern but in the old Testament for a Covenant: *its answered;* Secondly, That its ground enough for such a practise, the Covenant not being Ceremoniall, but Morall, and that which of necessity goes to such a Constitution; it did not constitute the Church as nationall, but as a Church: Indeed the Covenant was nationall, because the Church was so, but that was accidentall. Its no part of the essence of a Covenant, that it should be nationall, that doth accedere to it as it constitutes such a Policie; and the same, or which is equivalent, must constitute a particular Church, the same formall Constitution that was in that Church, as a Church, must be in every Church also: and though the dispensation in Churches be differ-

rent, yet the same, constitutive Principles remain in all. For that he saith, the principall Precept for a Sabbath, was that we take one of the old Testaments, and therefore why should not their national Church be a pattern for us to imitate, as well as their national Covenant Sabbath? &c.

II. Answer: We keep the Sabbath onely as it is a Morall Precept in the Decalogue, not as peculiar to the Jews; for where there was any ceremonialle (in it, as the seventh day) its changed among us; and for Fasts, there is as great equity, that when we have displeased God, we should solemnly humble our selves before him. But that the Church was Nationall, was meerly accidentall, and he might as well argue, and it will as rightly follow, that there must be but one visible Church in all the world, and that one nation, as the Jews were; for if he argue from one part, which is accidentall, he must argue from another, that is so likewise. Besides, if this be a property of a Church, that it be nationall, then there is no Church but what is nationall; if that did ~~converge~~ converge to the Church of the Jews, as a Church, that it was nationall, then it doth so unto every Church; and the same may be said, that there was but that one Church in the world then, therefore there is but one now. Many such absurdities will necessarily follow such an Argument.

To that that I say, that the Covenant of the Gospel is made with no particular nation, but with every one in every nation that beleeveth, and that there is no Prophecie or Promise of any one nation to be converted, but the Jews.

He Answers: That this Reason is both absurd and false, the Covenant depending not only on particular persons, but on all nations, &c. And for this he quotes many Scriptures in the Margent, the summe of which is contained in *Isa. 2. 2.* Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. And that in *Ez. 2. 2, 3.* The mountain of the Lord shall be exalted on the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow to it. Therefore God hath made a Covenant with particular nations to be Churches.

To which, I answer, That if these Texts be to be understood so, Jesus Christ never had a Church since the dissolution of the Jewish State; for there hath been no nation in the world yet wholly given to Christ, none that may be called a holy nation; as yet that Prophecie is not fulfilled: what may be hereafter I know not.

Secondly, You may as well say that the Covenant of the Gospel is made with all nations; and that all nations are, or shall be, Churches to Christ; for so the words run in the generall: *I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth;* and all nations shall flow in unto the Church, and become such.

Thirdly, That in *Psalm 2.* is not meant of God covenanting with any people; but it shews that all the world is in subjection to Christ; and that the Father hath given him all rule and power from one end of the earth to the other; and the following words imply so much; for he saith, *He shall rule them with a rod of iron;* now it is not meant so much of the Church, as of the Kings, and Potentates, and great men of the world, that band themselves against Christ. Christ rules not his Church with a rod of iron, but with a golden Scepter; and if all nations were given to Christ, that is, really converted, and in Covenant, there would not be so many Potentates, Kings; and great ones, to band themselves against Christ and his Church; and for that place *Esay 2.* That all nations shall flow into the Church when once its exalted, its no more then what was fulfilled in *Acts 2.* where men of every nation under heaven beleaved, and so is the word commonly used for some of all nations; and the utmost that can be said of them, and all the other places brought, is but this; that when Jews and Gentiles shall all be called together, the most part of the nations shall beleave, and come to Christ, in *1 Pet. 2. 9.* which he quotes: The Apostle calls the scattered Saints a holy nation, yet they were no nation, but scattered thorow many nations; and these Scriptures are meant of the multiplicity of beleivers that shall be brought under Jesus Christs Dominion: and these Texts do no more prove a nationall Church; or any one nation wholly converted; then that Text, *Go preach the Gospel unto every nation,* *Matth. 28.* proves that every nation shall therefore be converted to Christ; and they rather prove, that all nations shall be reall Saints, then that any one nation or more shall be so. Besides, if the Church be nationall, every one of the nation is a member, and there can be no censures of Excommunication rightly administred; for there can be no Excommunication; but either by cutting the person off from this life, or else banishing; which are for destruction, not edification; for whilst he lives in the Kingdom, he is a member, and the bounds and limits of the nation are the bounds and limits of the Church.

Againe, of what Nation in the world can it be said which is said of the Church, you are a peculiar and holy people: may are not all the Nations corrupted, few or none, in the most, embracing the Gospel? *England* hath been accounted as Protestant, and as refined a Nation, as any hath been for Doctrine; yet how many vices hath it bred in its own bowels? who ever have been more wicked then they? where have the Saints been more persecuted then here?

Againe, if Nations may be Churches, there will be no distinction between the World and the Church: all will be Saints, and as far members of the visible Church, as the best Saints.

To that I say, that he cannot shew any Nation, every Member whereof is qualified sufficiently to make up a Church, unless wee will take in Drunkards, Whoremongers, &c. and this cannot be avoided in a Nationall Church, *he answers: that he dares not be wiser then his Lord and Master, who informes him that there will and must be alwaies in the visible Church on earth goats among the sheep, & ife amongst the wheat, &c.*

Answer: 1. That there will be goats, is most certaine: but that there must be, is neither *necessitate precepti* nor *medij*. Christ never commanded it, neither is it of absolute necessity, for the Saints can live & be built up without any mixture of such society: is it a delight and pleasure to Christ to see goats among his sheep, in his own fold? what need then [this must] be so confidently put in?

Secondly, goats, chaffe, bad fish, are taken for hypocrites as well as profane men, and in these places they are only to be taken so; as for example, that place *Mat. 13. 24.* of the good seed and the tares which he quotes, by tares are not meant profane persons, but hypocrites: 1. the * Word expresseth no more, tares (as *Historians* observe) are a weed like the wheat: now profane men are no way like the Saints: 2. if it be meant of profane men, and Master *Pryn* take it of their being in the Church, then all the censures of the Church are cut off *ipso facto*, for the Text saith expressly, they must be let alone till the harvest, (that is, the day of judgment) so that no wicked man may be excommunicated, or any censure passe upon him: yea 3. it is plaine, they are hypocrites, they were discovered by none but the Angells: yea 4. if you will needs take it of profane men, the Text saith expressly, that these were not in the Church, but in the world: the field is the world, *vers. 38.* whereas he saith, he finds that in the Churches of *Galatia, Colosse, Pergamus, &c.* there

*Scutellus in
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there were drunkards, Epicures, whoremongers, &c. [Answer in general', that I know no Churches openly taxt for any such grosse acts of sin in all the New Testament; only the Church of *Corinth* about the incestuous *Corinthian*, which is spoken as a defilement, and a blot upon them, whereby they were corrupted; and he therefore exhorts them to cast him out, *that they might be a new lump*, 1 Cor. 5. As for 1 Cor. 11: where the Apostle saith, *one is thirsty and another is drunke*, I think it not meant of that grosse act, which we call drunkennesse, but the same with that which is said of *Joseph* and his brethren, *Gen. 43. 5. they dranke and were merry*; they drank more freely then they ought at that time, though it might be lawfull at another time; but however, though there were these in such Churches: Yet

First, I speak of the first constitution of a Church, and what Churches should be, not what they are degenerated into.

Secondly, they were most spirituall sins that were laid to the charge of the seven Churches, and other Churches, as that they lost their first love, countenanced false teachers, &c. not such grosse acts of prophaneffe, as whoring, &c. Yet

Thirdly, what heavy and sad threatnings are there denounced by God against the Church, if they continued in that estate, and what judgment did follow? for God is very tender of his worship, and what is become of all these Churches now? how greatly hath God been displeased with them? the Jewes might not enter into marriage with the daughters of a strange Land, much lesse might they admit them to ordinances among them, unlesse really converted, and made profelytes: now such are all not visible Saints, in the judgment of the Saints, unto those that are really called, and joine together in the ordinances, and they ought to be as shy of those, as they were of them: whatever a Church rightly constituted may fall into by defection, I speak not of; but what they ought to be, such as the word calls Saints, which can hardly be given by any knowing Saint, to the most part of men in *England*: For that he asketh, *whether we have not drunkards, cozeners, swuriers, &c. members of our Churches?* I answer, we know none, and we should thank Master Pryn if he could discover any such, & account him our reall friend in it: For that he saith, *where was there ever a Church of all elected ones? that is a state for heaven, not for this world*: I answer, theres none saith a Church must be all of elect, but of such as can be judged by the Saints to be elect. If men be not saved, its not because the Church

is deceived, but themselves: the Church goes only on these probable rules of judging by which the word prescribes; the visible Church, in Scripture, is called Heaven often times, as *Mat.* 25. 1. *Heb.* 12. 26. *Mat.* 13. and in *Esa.* 4. 5. its called glory, to intimate that none should properly be of the Church, but should go to Heaven; and its called the body of Christ, none should be admitted as members of that body, but those who can really be judged to be so: if prophane persons must be in the Church, as you say, then I know no reason but all may be in the Church, and no man in the world may be said to be out of the Church; for the most are ungodly: if ungodly ones do steal in among the Saints to a Church, they prosper not, and Christ will discover them to their everlasting shame; and more dreadfull judgments follow none as these: Christ dwells in his house, which is the Church, and its no pleasure to Christ to see a mixture among his owne: he that made a whip of cords to drive out the buyers and sellers out of the materiall Temple; will take rods of iron to whip out such ungodly wretches. I am sure Christs bread belongs to no such dogs, only the children are welcome, and he hath given power to his Church to keep out these that have not a judged right.

Againe, if prophane persons, and such as walke not like Saints, are to be cast out of the church, then such as are judged so must not be admitted into the church; but the former is true, *Ergo*. That they are to be cast out of the Church, is cleer from the Scriptures, *Mat.* 18. *1 Cor.* 5. that therefore they ought not to be admitted, is as cleare: for the same ground is in both; they are admitted in, because they walke as Saints, and so are judged to be Saints; they are cast out because they walk not as such: the truth is, this principle will soon lessen a Nationall Church; and therefore no wonder the Presbyterians are shy of holding it; for they must cast out the most of their members, as soon as they receive them in. Its the strangest thing to me, and I startle at it many times, what strict rules the Presbyterians have laid down in their Sermons in print, and their Sermons before the Sacrament every month, in which they lay on men such qualifications, both habituell and actuell, that there is not one in a hundred of the best Saints can follow them, and yet blame their brethern for keeping of these, which they cannot judge to have the least degree of these qualifications: they tell them it belongs not to them, they will eate and drinke their owne damnation,

Master Dilect
preparation
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ment.

on, and yet cry out in these that would not have these poor soules contract such guilt, and draw on such ruine on their own soules; and therefore keep them back, do you take in these who are drunkards, whoremongers, &c. into communion in the ordinances? blame us not if we keep our selves from such defilements.

For his answer (saith he) to that of Act. 15, *all ages, Churches till this present, have held it as an expresse warrant for provinciall and nationall Synods, and their making Canons in Church affairs*: I shall not say much to this, not doubting but we shall see these things shortly in print, which our brethren have urged in the Assembly.

How that can be a formall Synod I could never see yet made forth: For

First, This was not a gathering of the Elders of many Churches, who make a Synod, but only some messengers (whether Elders or no the Text speaks not) occasionally sent up to Jerusalem, to that Church there.

Secondly, here was the whole multitude, viz. the Brethren present, besides the Apostles and Elders, and the Letter that is sent is as much written in their name, as of any of the Elders: now the Brethren or multitude are not usuall to be Members of Synods.

Thirdly, the Message is sent as the mind of the Holy Ghost, and not their bare judgments, but that which they had principally received by inspiration from the Spirit, and is not now ordinary to any Synod, for what Synod, I can say, it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and us to lay such things on you.

Fourthly, if this were a Synod made up of Elders of severall Congregations, and that Paul and Barnabas went not up to prove the false Apostles lyars, but to have the truth manifested, which they could not do; then a Synod of Elders have more power then bare Apostles to order things in the Church; Paul and Barnabas were men very unfit to be Apostles, if they could not have determined such a question whether it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised, who were to plant and order things in all the Churches; and who had power over all Churches, and were to write the mind of God to them: surely, one Apostle had more knowledge of the things of God, and of matters of controversie in the Church, then all the Synods in the world besides; nay all are to follow what they left to the Churches; it were greatly to diminish the Apostles power, and the highnesse of that office, to think that they

they could not determine such a question, but must go to a Synod to have it cleared up to them. Besides, it was an Apostle, when they came up to *Jerusalem*, (viz. *Peter*) who decided the controversy, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* were men of as great judgement, and had as much power as he. However we think not that to be a Synod, yet the convening of Assemblies and Synods for advice and counsell we deny not; but that any Synod or Councell hath an authoritative jurisdiction to impose Laws and Canons for all Churches to walk by, we conceive cannot be proved, neither from this of *Acts* 15. or any other Text: Yea, even this Assembly now among us the Parliament have called onely for advice, not intending to give them a power of jurisdiction over them and all the Kingdome: Master *Pryn* saith, and takes much pains to prove (in his late triumphing book) that Synods, and Councells, and Magistrates have ever used to make Laws for the Church, & to exercise a coercive power in matters of Religion, *De Facto*, (and he might have saved himself labour to have proved it;) but whether, *De Jure*, there is such a power invested in them, and from what Scripture I have not yet seen, and should be glad to be informed by him.

To my ninth *Querie* (saith he) and Argument in it, he returns nothing worthy Reply, but upon this *Petitio principii*, that the Scriptures and the Apostles have prescribed a set form of Government, &c. (which I have proved before:) and that the Churches in the Apostles dayes were Independent, though doubtlesse (saith he) all Churches were then subject to the Apostles Laws and Edicts, &c. therefore not Independent.

What there is in this worthy of Reply, I am ignorant of; yet this is to be noted, how the Presbyterians make a market of this scandalous name of Independents they have fastened on us: viz. To make the world beleve that we are subject to no Laws, that neither Gods Word nor mans is a rule to us, for this is the naturall sense of his words: he saith, *The Primitive Churches were subject to the Apostles Laws*: Ergo, *Not Independent*. As if we held that we were Independent from the Apostles Laws. And if he put it as an Argument, it runs thus: If the Primitive Churches were subject to the Apostles Laws & Rules, then are all Churches now subject to a Presbytery and Synods; the consequence we desire you to prove: To whom should the Church be subject but to these, who gave them the minde of God immediatly? And here let the Reader observe, that in this Head Master *Pryn* brought in many Arguments by way
of

of absurdity, upon the holding of the Primitive Churches to be a pattern of all other, which, it seems, he is ashamed to mention, and seeth now, because of what was retorted on him, that even they themselves are absurd. For that he saith of my retorted, *That the Scriptures were written in the infancy of the Church, therefore better might be written now; that is a blasphemous conclusion*: Its confessed. Yet had it as good a consequence as yours, that the Churches now had a more perfect constitution then the Churches in the Apostles times, because they were the first, and, as you call them, Infant churches.

Whereas you say that the Scripture was writ by the Ancients of dayes, who hath neither infancie nor imperfection, as the Church hath. I Answer: That the Scripture was writ to be a Rule to perfect the Churches, and the reason of the imperfection of the Churches, is, because it comes not up to that Rule; and these Churches (how ever you deemed them Infant) had more knowledge of that Rule then ever any yet have had, they receiving it more immediately from Gods mouth then any since; and their Churches must needs be more exactly constituted then any since, who lived under the Apostles direction, and had all they had from them, as from God.

To that I say, that he would make a Nationall Church more perfect then a Congregationall, he saith, he doubts not to averre it, since warranted by direct * Scriptures; to the which I shall refer the Reader but to look over, and then let him learn hereafter to be taken with Master Pryms Marginall Quotations; what shadow there is of proof in these Scriptures, but a cast of an eye will discern: But yet I answer; Imperfection in any thing ariseth more or lesse, either from the defect of something essentiall, or which is to the beauty and ornament and glory of a thing, or both; then is a thing more or lesse perfect, when either its essentialls are more perfect, or that which accidentally goes to the adorning of it. What there is more of these two in a Nationall Church, then in a Congregationall, I know not; unless the mixt multitude of believers, and profane persons growing up together into a bigger bulk of sin, should adde either to the essence or ornament of a Church: if God had seen so much beauty in Nationall churches above others, he would not have destroyed the Jewish State, or at least would have stablished the like in the Gospel, and would have converted the heathen Empires, and have took them in to be a

* Eph. 4. 17.
1. 13. 2 Cor.
13. 9. Heb 6. 1
1 Per. 9. 10.
Phil. 3. 12. 4.
Heb. 13. 21.
James 1. 4.

Church to him: It was the mixt multitude which came out of Egypt with the Israelites that brought them to so much wo; indeed, were a whole nation such as could be judged reall Saints, it would be a lovely sight to behold so many Churches walking together in the unity of the faith, but that never hath been yet; we know not what may be, we have little hopes of it untill the Jews be called, (if then.) And which is a more perfect State, a company of visible Saints joyned together in love, and walking in all the Ordinances of God according to their light, or a whole nation, wherein there is here and there a Saint walking with Whoremasters, Drunkards, and all sorts of ungodly ones without distinction, and enjoying all these Ordinances that the most have no right unto? The comparison between a grown experienced Christian, and a babe in grace, is no way proportionable to this thing. Wherein lies the growth and perfection, and experience in a Nationall-church, that is not in a Congregationall? Either it lies in the Presbytery, and Nationall-assembly, or in the distinct Parishes, and the Members of them: If in the Assembly that they are so experienced, the people have little benefit by it, unlesse to subject their necks to what they say; and there is the same in many Congregationall-churches, when met for advice; if in the Parishes and the severall Congregations, the same is, in this way we speak of, much more; little is the edification the members have from the perfection of a Nationall-church, seeing they cannot meet together, or be present at the hearing of these experiences that others have; the onely benefit the members have is from the enjoyment of the gifts of their own Pastour; and it may be he one that they never chose as Pastour to them, but was imposed on them: and the truth is, this is but to circumscribe the Church in the Ministers, for else there may be more understanding men, and experienced Christians in a Congregationall-church, then generally thorowout a nation; the common people being most ignorant every where.

One thing he urgeth more in this; *That a Congregationall-church is forced to pray in the aid of other Churches for advice, assistance, &c. which a Nationall-church need not.*

Now here let all the world observe, whether he or any of the Presbyterians have cause to call us Independent: What more independent then a Nationall-church? Its a Pope, infallible, needs no aid, assistance of any Church in the world, it hath a spirit of infallibility.

fallibility tied to its girdle. We acknowledge we need help and assistance from other Churches, they need none; and here all you Presbyterians, either renounce Master Pryn's opinion, and get some other Champion for you, or else for ever cease to open your mouth to call any of the Congregationall way Independent.

In fine (saith he) *He himself confesseth that the Apostles made new rules for Government and Discipline, as occasion served and as God fitted occasions, so he made known new rules successively, by degrees, not at once, &c. Therefore the Infant-Church in the Apostles dayes was not so compleat and perfect in all its parts, as the multiplied and grown Churches afterwards.*

A. How much he hath failed in the recitall of this, let the Reader compare, and judge; (I will not say wilfully, as he saith of me) for he hath left out that part which was the strength of all, which if he had took in, his Position had been overthrown; which was, that though the Apostles added by degrees, according as occasion served, new Rules, and Offices (for to what end should they adde untill there was occasion?) yet so, as at length they discovered all the minde of God concerning his Churches Government, and left it as a pattern to all the Churches: As the Scriptures were not written all at once, but some Epistles were written to some Churches, before others; according as occasion was, and the Revelation discovered last, as concerning the last Ages of the Church; yet so, as still at length, that the whole Scripture should be written, and left as the minde of God to all ages. And unlesse Master Pryn saith; that the Churches constituted by the Apostles had not at length a full discovery of Church-government, he hath no ground to think they were not so compleat as the following Churches.

My tenth Querie (saith he) he wilfully mis-represents, as he doth the rest: and then returns an Answer by way of Dilemma, to which he Answers thus: That if the Parliament and Synod shall by publike consent establish a Presbyterian Government, as consonant to the Word, the Lawes and Regiment of this Kingdome, Independents and all others are bound in conscience to submit, under pain of obstinacie, singularity, in case they cannot prove it Diametrically opposite to the Scripture, &c.

Charity
would have
prompted
you otherwise.

Something hath been said in Answer to this before: Yet further, if Master Pryn means by submitting, that actually we must yeeld to the Presbyteriall judgement, and on the first setting of it up, presently lay down every thought of Reason and Argument we have raised up against it, and say it is the way of Christ, and the onely

way which we must serve Christ in; if he thinks any of us to have the least principles of reason, he cannot imagine we should do so. But if he means thus, That we ought not to stand against that Authority that sets it up, but submit to the penalty (if the least can in conscience be imposed) which shall be laid on us; we grant it: I hope, we shall not be found despisers of Authority in that; but shall expect as great assistance from Jesus Christ, as ever you did, in a matter far lower, even the writing against a Bishops Court, or a Cardinalls Cap, as crossing the Statutes of the land; and as you confesse, but a matter of meer opinion: I speak not this to upbraid you, or detract from your sufferings (which are indeed badges of honour, not of shame;) but as far as your self detract from them, in telling us the true ground of them, that we might not too much glory in you. These places you so often quote, *Rom. 13. 1. 1 Tim. 2. 1. &c.* They make as much for Heathen Magistrates as Christian, and in every thing as well as any thing, if it be meant of actuall obedience.

To his crosse Interrogatories (saith he) I Answer: *First, That if the Popes Councell command lawfull things to them that are under their power, they ought to be obeyed as well as the commands of Heathen Emperours, Magistrates, Parents, by Christian Subjects, Wives, Servants living under them.*

Notwithstanding this, the Argument is still in force: That Heathen Emperours are to be obeyed as well as any Christian Magistrates, if that as Magistrates they must be obeyed; for that you say, and seem to make a distinction of it, if they command lawfull thing. But the question is still, who shall be Judge of that? Is it not as great a reason, that I shall be Judge of the lawfulness of the things I am to obey, as the Magistrate should Judge of that he commands to be lawfull? If this be not granted, blinde obedience must necessarily follow. If I obey, because he judges it lawfull, I obey not out of a principle of judgement concerning the thing, but meerly because of the command: what blinder obedience there can be, I know not. Again, as before, either the power commanding is to be obeyed, or else the things themselves command obedience: If the former, that is alike to all Magistrates, and in every thing there must be obedience, where that power is: If for the latter, then the things themselves binde, and then I must needs see it to be lawfull; and that necessity of sinning put upon a man by this,

if not taken away by any thing I see in Master *Pryn* Reasons; for if I obey not the power commanding of lawfull things, I sin; if I do obey before I am convinced of the lawfulness of it; or have a scruple, or doubt of its unlawfulness, (much more when I positively think so) I sin against God, and he will condemne me as an hypocrite, a time-server; as one sinning against my light; and contradicting these motions, that, for ought I know, are from his good spirit, God cares not for, nay will condemne whatever is done without knowledge, though the things themselves be what he hath commanded: so that either we shall intreat Master *Pryn* to give us new eyes, or else not to censure us, if we actually follow not that we have no knowledge in.

Secondly, saith he, *there is a great difference between matters of opinion only, and of practice, as whether Episcopacy be iure divino &c. though the resolutions of a Synod and Parliament should be affirmative, they could not binde my judgment* (saith he) *absolutely, so far as to subscribe to their opinion, as an undoubted truth, unless they could satisfy my arguments, yet they should and ought to binde me to practise: So if the Parliament and Synod should establish any Church-government, though it binde not Independents to be simply of their opinion, or unless your reasons and arguments be sufficient to convince their judgments; yet it binde them in point of practice and obedience outwardly to submit themselves.*

This Argument contradicth the fundamentals of Religion, and gives way to the greatest hypocrisie in the world; this is that God requires in all services, that the heart, and the head, and the hand goe together; to oppose the practice and the judgement in spirituall obedience, is to separate the soul from the body, and bid the body act; God hath put the understanding in a man, to be a light to his path; a mans understanding is a mans practice, as the eye to the body, without which it cannot walk safely; and men may be what they will if this be true, that a mans judgement may be one way, and a mans practice another; a man may deny God, break the Sabbath, sweare in his practice, so his judgement be contrary: But it may be Master *Pryn* meanes it of indifferent things, meerly circumstantiall; but I hope he accounts not matters of worship and Church-government so; *whatever is not of faith is sin*; no mans practice can be of faith, who knowes not what he doth lawfully, much lesse whose judgement is contrary. Its true, matter of opinion is one thing, if it be a meer opinion that is not reducible

to practise, and I may only hold an opinion; and being contradicted by higher powers, though I may not be convinced, yet I may be silent, but when things come to be prest on me to practise, and that in the worship of God, and my judgment is not satisfied, then I must be convinc'd, or else its a sin for me to practise; how Master Pryn thinks in his conscience we can submit actually to the power of a Presbyteriall governments, who in our judgments thinke it not the power Christ would have his Churches be governed by, I know not, unlesse he would have us be the veryest hypocrites, time-servers, these which will do any thing to save our selves, surely, how ever he can practise one thing, and judge otherwise of it, we dare not; for as we account it below rationall creatures, to put out their own eyes to see by other mens, so we thinke it hypocritie in the highest, to practise that our judgments are against: that is not a humane action, much lesse christian, that is not done *præcunte judicio intellectus*; and how much lesse when it is against the thing.

To his eleventh *Quære* he saith, I give only a negative answer, and then declaime against Presbyterie; without any ground or reason; which he saith he will prove no further, except in two particulars: First, that independency is in reality meer separation and Brownisme, lately christened with a new title to take off its Odium. To which I shall say no more in a way of answer but this, that it will be well if Presbytery prove not in reality a tyrannicall Episcopacy, only newly baptized with the fair word [regulated] a regulated Episcopacy, saith Master Pryn himself; and I wish it may not break its bridle shortly.

Secondly, he saith, that we see what bloody divisions, wars, Schismes, the toleration but of one Religion in our Realme, contrary to that established, (*viz. Popery and Papists*) hath produced in all our Dominions, &c.

To which I answer: First, that there is no comparison between Popery, and this way we speak for; they differing in all fundamentalls, their principles being absolutely against the secular power which is not of their Religion; neither is ours a different Religion, but the same; only in some points, wherein the beauty of Religion lies, we differ; we have the same faith, baptisme, we all professe the same Christ, yea, we differ but in a point, and that meerly out of conscience.

Secondly, how will you help the growing of Sects? do what you can they will grow, not all the counsell yet; and strictest governments

verments in the world, have ever kept their dominions free; nay, the more severitie is used, the more they will grow: for that which is opposed and cried out against, men will the more pry into; Bishops made more Puritans against their will, then ever was before; and it will be so in other things too: men will be doubting whether that power be lawfull, which is so cruell: errors are like camorile, the more you tread them downe, the more they will grow, let them alone they will fall off themselves.

Thirdly, Uniformity is no marke of a true Church, that is the Papists glory, the Apostle saith, there must be heresies, that the truth may be manifested; this is the glory of the Saints, that though their light differ, yet their hearts are one; and they love one another, though in some things they have not received equall knowledge.

Yet farther to come to this way, for that is it you intend, that there may not be any sufferance of it.

If it must not be tolerated; its either for something in its self, or for its inconsistency with states, or for feare that they should grow too numerous for the power of the Magistrate to curbe.

For the first, let all the world judge that knowes it, what it holds, I know nothing, that either in its foundation or structure hath any poyson or sting in it; any thing that may not in charity be borne with, that seeks not preeminence or jurisdiction over others; it meddles not with other mens matters, to disturbe them in their peace; all that it differs from you, is in matters of Discipline, and what is not immediatly belonging to salvation, yet they are the liberties of Christ, as is conceived.

As Secondly, neither is it inconsistent with States, for it was set up under the Heathen Emperours, that were the most cruell, and there is nothing in its principles, that hath so much as a shadow of inconsistency, for it meddles not with their power; besides, we see in other Kingdoms (as flourishing States as any are) many others besides this way are tolerated, yet no disturbance to the State; yea, though the publike government of the Church be Presbyteriall: he knowes little in History, who knowes not, that men of different Religion have been suffered and tolerated to enjoy their conscience, yea, even among Heathens; how much

more when the difference is only in smaller things; States lose nothing by preserving the Liberties of mens consciences. In France the Protestants are accounted the best Subjects, they are tolerated contrary to the publike Government of the State, yet are not inconsistent with the well being and flourishing condition of it. And surely, even Papists will rise up in judgement against us, who suffer those who are contrary to their principles, and Religion, to enjoy their consciences, if we shall not suffer these who differ not in Religion absolutely, but in points of lesser consequence, to enjoy their Liberties amongst us. If upon triall it proves inconsistent with State, then may the Magistrate curbe them.

But this is the fear, you will say, lest they grow to a Party, and be too strong for the Magistrate.

First, Its against their Principles, to have any hand in opposing the Magistrate, to keep up their own Priviledges.

Yet secondly, If there were any such thought, (which their soul abhors) yet there are many eyes over them, who will watch them close enough to take the least advantage against them; whereby to bring them into bondage: Besides, they are the smallest, and most contemptible Party in the Kingdom.

This may as much, nay more probably, be feared of the Presbytery, who are more numerous, and of greater sway; and we say the same; Who shall restrain them? And what if they take distaste against the proceedings of Parliament, or the like, having got so much power in the Kingdom, what will become of things then? The State gives not Presbytery any power but that it supposeth it is able to restrain and overtop them if they offend, and grow insolent; and it may on the same consideration give a toleration unto others, knowing that when ever it breaks out, it can soon check, and bound them: Besides, as Master Pryn saith himself, *Such a thing as not to be presumed of before it be actually committed.*

But yet further, That there ought to be an indulgence unto such as differ in lesser matters, for to that I onely speak now.

Fitt, That naturall right we have to the Kingdom (though I will not urge it as an Argument) as well as the Presbyterians that cryes loud for it; we are men as free born as they, have as great

great interests here as they; nay, many of us having been formerly deprived of their Liberties, while others did eat the sweet, and drink the fat at home: Yea, further, we have engaged our selves in getting a settled Peace, in maintaining of the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject and Religion, and we think this, in justice, but an ordinary reward, (though we expect no more, and blesse God for that:) For the lives of so many that we are sure were of our judgement, and had this in their eye, and which when they were gasping out their last, they rejoyced in the thoughts of, that they should procure Liberties for the Churches: and surely it would be somewhat sad, that our lives should go to set Presbyterians on the Throne, (though much good may it do them) while we our selves, that serve the same God, are of the same faith, shall not have wherewithall to lay our head, and that meerly for our conscience.

Secondly, If a man ought not to lay a stumbling block before any tender conscience, nor offend him in the use of lawfull things, in which his conscience is scrupled, as the Apostle saith *Rom. 14. 15.* then much lesse ought any one to punish any one so scrupled; especially when they are known to be godly, and what they hold they have much reason for: This is to grieve indeed, and to destroy indeed, any tender conscience: *Him that is weak receive not to doubtfull Disputations, Rom. 14.* Beza interpreteth the word thus: *Though we think you may not eat, &c.* he saith not, Cast him out of the Kingdom.

Thirdly, do but hold this, that for difference in smaller matters men are not to be suffered, and you lay a ground of a continuall, and most bitter persecution as can be; for if one Kingdom may not suffer them, and this be because of the Law of God; another may not suffer them likewise, for the same Law bindes all; and then there is no way but death for them; men are not to live in the world, who are not of the same size with others. Now the Religion which is from above, is more mercifull and just then this; if a man swear, be drunk, commit uncleanness, there is but a common mulct of the Statute on him, he is suffered to live in the land; and why should a greater punishment be inflicted on those that differ in judgement in smaller;

things; it is not because of it self, for the sin is not so hainous, if it be a sin; neither is it in respect of the authority; that is despised, for that is alike in the other: What a sad thing is this, that a man for following his judgement (which God will damn him for if he go against it, while it is judgement;) should not be suffered a place in the world; for if one State will not suffer him, why should another.

Fourthly, these which are subject to errors and mistakes themselves, may not punish those who hold an opinion different from them; for what if that they punish for should be a truth (as there is none can infallibly determine the contrary;) their punishment would be persecution; what if it should not, but they think so, to punish would be oppression; for even they themselves are subject to the same errors; yea, and that they themselves hold may be an error.

Fifthly, consider the power God hath given to conscience, and I argue thus, no man is to be punished for his duty; this is a mans duty that God requires, that conscience should give warrants and direction for every act; and the rule is cleer, *Rom. 14. v. last, whatever is not of faith is sin*, man can do nothing religiously without the perswasion of his conscience; let every man be fully perswaded in his own mind; now what justice can there be in punishing a man for not sinning against God?

Sixthly, that way which is not adequate to, or is ineffectuall for the recovery of any in error, or their salvation is not to be taken; but such is an externall punishment for a meer spirituall offence (which yet is questionable whether it be an offence) to banish men, or imprison them, meerly for their judgment, is a very unfit means to recover them; neither hath God ever sanctified it to such an end: nay, there is nothing more hardens men in their error then such a course, and makes them more refractory and incorrigible: men will be led and not drawn; few or none ever were recovered, with whom such course have been taken.

Seventhly, that course which will never bring about, even the end of the punishers themselves may not be taken, the great end is mens not suffering those which are of different judgement to enjoy

enjoy their liberty, is to bring in a uniformity which never hath been yet, nor never is to be expected while we are here; for as long as men have reason in them, and a free understanding, there will be different apprehensions of things; and that old saying, *quod homines, tot sententia*, will ever be. Herein is the manifold wi-dome, and fulnesse of God seen, in giving different gifts to men; and untill you can compound all men into one head and reason, you can never bring this about; yea, even the same man, at the same time, hath different apprehensions of things, and now his understanding is cleer for that which now through stronger rea-sons he is against: its true, all the Saints agree in fundamentals, but for other things it is as light is revealed from heaven to them: and if the matter were sifted, this crying out for uni-formity, is but to make all men subscribe to the Clergie, who must see for all the rest of the people; and let a mans judgment be never so rationally, yet if not suitable to the common clamour of the times, both the man and his man, and his judgment, must not have a being in the Kingdome, yea, though before accounted most godly: either you must infuse into all men, one and the same individuall conscience, and give men the same understanding with you, or else you must suffer them; unlesse you will make every man a grosse hypocrite.

Eightly, That which puts a state or people upon the greatest hazard, not probably only, but most times necessarily, of persecuting the most godly, and grieving the hearts of those whom Christ would not have grieved, that is not a way of Christ; but doth this opinion, that none that differ from a State in any thing may be tolerated; its a thousand to one but some Saints, who love the Lord Jesus dearly, are of those opinion, (I am sure, of this opinion I now contend for, hundreds are) now their sides must be wounded, and their habitations made desolate, though they are such as Christ loves; who follow their judgments meerly out of love to truth, and thorough the convictions of their conscience; especially the godly are oftentimes, if they are overtaken with errors of smaller and lesser consequence, such as are on the right hand; and what a persecution is this, unpa-ralleld in any age, not to suffer them in the same Kingdome with them

them. Even the Papists in Queen *Maries* time punished not for matters of Discipline, but for fundamentall differences of their Religion: there can be no State free from the blood of Martyrs, if this Principle be ingrafted to them, and practised by them.

Ninthly, this will be the greatest hindrance of knowledge and growth in Religion that can be; for it puts out mens own eyes and judgment, and ties them to see by others; every man (which hath not his conscience and judgment quite sold to the common opinions, and lost in the common road) will be affraid to read the Scriptures, or search them thoroughly, for if God should dart in any light from them, or his own ingenuity thorough the strength of his reason should be forced to dissent from the multitude, either he must stifle in the birth his divine conception, (for so it may be) (for if he be known to be of such a judgment (though in it self never so small) he must loose all he hath, and *ipso facto*, be liable to the greatest censure;) or else he must dissemble his judgment, and wound his conscience, what a strait is this? this will be only growth in religion, to grow up more conformable to the opinion of the times; & he will be accounted the most knowing man, who hath the language of the times most by heart, no man durst set to himself a higher pitch in walking with God then the State hath set to him, upon pain of the greatest hazard; and whereas God reveals divers truths in divers ages & times (especially in matters of government and worship) more and more, as men come out of Antichristian darkness, yet none must be suffered and tolerated, but that one, it may it self be Antichristian; at the least miserable cold and formall.

Tenthly, if you will needs be punishing for smaller differences in judgment, I desire you to shew your Commission and Warrant from the Lord Jesus, and I am sure he never gave either patterne or precept for such a course, he knowes his gifts he gives to men are different, and that light he communicates, is more and lesse, and he beares with his Saints who are of different growth and stature, and I thinke we ought to beare much more; who are as infirme as any others; he bore with his Disciple,
weak

weaknesse, when they believed not the resurrection, and came with peace in his mouth to them; how much more would he have borne, if they had doubted only of matters of Discipline? *Rom. 15. 1. you which are strong ought to beare with the infirmities of the weak,* and not to please your selves, as Christ pleased not himself.

I hope you will walk as Christ walked, Christ told his Disciples, *Luk. 9. 54.* that they knew not of what spirit they were of; when they would have fire to come down from heaven to consume those that would not receive him, there are many such spirits now a day, but they know not what spirit they are of.

Object. But it will be said, and its the maine objection they have, if we tolerate you, we must likewise tolerate Papists, &c.

Answer. That doth not follow, for their very principles opposeth the secular power, they differ in fundamentalls, and are properly another Religion, and yet the State saith, when they execute Jesuites and Fryers, &c. it is not for their conscience or religion only: That we differ is but in a point, not of absolute necessity to salvation, though neerer the beauty and ornament of Religion, and being a truth of Christ, (as is conceived, it must be prized, and we dare not discharge our conscience of it. I shall say no more of this; but let men take heed how they persecute the Saints, and oppresse their Brethren, lest Jesus Christ draw forth his Iron Scepter against them, to vindicate the innocency of his people.

To my twelfth quære (saith he) he only answers, *That I fall a jeering of my Brethren, and that I put a nick name on them, to make them odious, not answering one syllable to the substance of the Question.*

To what I should answer, more then I did, I am not yet informed; for this was his Question, whether it be not a proud insolent name we arrogate to be independent? I answered, that wee disclaime it, and that in print: and therefore his Quære could be nothing but a jeare. To which he answers, first, *That this title was at first assumed, approved of by your selves, and is still owned by many; you should have named the persons that assumed it, as for our parts, as many as I know abhor the name as its fathered on us. Indeed we are independent in this regard, that* we

we will not subiect our judgements and cause to the juridicall power either of Master *Pryn*, or any others, though we will lie down at the foot of Christ in whatever he shall command us out of his Word; and the truth is, the Presbytery is the onely independent in the world, and may most properly be called so, for you neither depend on the Scriptures for it, for you as-
firm not *jure divino*, neither hath it dependence on others, for you say in your third Reply, pag. 13. that it needs not the aid and assistance of other Churches: for as the ever honoured Lord *Brookes* said in his booke against Bishops, *I know no reason why one Congregation should be accounted more independent in respect of a whole Nation, then Geneva in respect of France, and France in respect of all Europes continent.* Therefore you are best to take up that title on your selves, as most suiting with your principles. As for our part we are accomptable for our actions to every neighbour Church that shall in the name of Christ require it; and we stand not independent from, but hold communion with all other Churches, both in Ordinances and asking counsell mutually; though we thinke no Church hath a power of jurisdiction to command or impose any thing on us.

To which you answer: *That if we are accountable for our actions to every particular neighbour Church, then why not much more to a Parliament or Synod:* To which I answer: We shall be as ready to give an account to the Parliament and Synod of any action we do, with the reason of it, as well — nay, rather then to any other; as for the way of doing of it, we are accountable by way of information, and satisfaction; and in some cases unto the Magistrate by way of just appeal: as in case an obstinate offender shall be excommunicated, and he be unruly, he or we may appeal to the Magistrate for redresse; we, that if the Magistrate judge him justly excommunicated, he may be restrained from disturbing of us: he, that if the Magistrate judge the sentence unjust, may be publicly cleared and vindicated. But for any authorative power of jurisdiction that Synods or any have to make Canons and impose on us which we are bound to follow, we humbly conceive it not be the minde of Christ; and we shall desire Master *Pryn* to shew us his Rule in Scripture.

To the second he answers: That if you stand not independant from other Churches, but hold communion with them: Then first, why do you separate from them as no true Christians?

Ans^r. I answer in generall: We separate from none we know to be true Churches; but if you mean by your true Church the whole bulk of the nation, whom you call a Church, we must needs separate from it, for we acknowledge no such Church. Yet,

Secondly, Though we acknowledge not England as a nation to be a true Church, yet we acknowledge many true Churches in England, with whom yet we cannot communicate in Church Ordinances, because of many personal defilements among them, or yet purged out: and if they would give us leave in our communion with them to professe against these corruptions which we think defile them, we should not scruple communion with them. You know that one may be a reall man, yee so corrupted with diseases and sores, that it may be dangerous to come nigh him, or eat or drink with him. Glad should we be to joyn with them, if they were so reformed, and that mixture taken away, that, as nigh as could be, none but such as had a right to Christ might partake of the Ordinances; untill then you must excuse us, if though we think many to be true Churches, we cannot actually communicate with them.

You tell us (saith he) that neither I, nor any Synods, nor this Synod is infallible, &c. Therefore men are not bound to obey their decrees on penalty of sin. To which he answers onely by way of Querie; May not you and your Independent Ministers erre as well others? O yes surely, therefore they arrogate not such a power to make Laws for others; as for that of the Major Votes, its answered before. How ever slight Master Pryn makes of this reason, yet untill he hath answered, he must give us leave to beleieve it. For if Synods have power to binde the conscience, it is either because they can enjoyn nothing but truth (for truth onely binds the conscience) and so are infallible, or else because of their own power and authority; I know no other ground for it. Is this good Logick, or Divinity? (saith he) Good Ministers may, and do erre in some points of Divinity, therefore we will beleieve them in none. In that you say true
first

there is neither Logick nor Divinity ; but the Consequence, as I draw it, is this : Ministers may erre, therefore none are absolutely bound to beleve every thing they say as Scripture, and so to sin if they obey not : for its a certain truth, not probable, that binds the conscience. Certain, I say, either as I apprehend it, or in regard of it self ; if I am bound to beleve what ever they say that are in authority, who may erre, then my conscience is subject to errour, as well as truth ; for that which is commanded may be errour, yea, if I think it errour, yet I must obey it : and this holds in every thing, as well as any thing : for in all things that is commanded, they who command are to go by their own judgements of the truth of the thing that they enjoyn, and their judgements may erre, yet I am bound to obey, and sin if I do not : Nay, suppose what they command to be a truth, yet I think it an errour, and so it is to me, (my conscience so judging) yet I am bound to obey, else I sin. The Lord learn you, and those in authority, more tenderesse to Saints consciences, that you may not put such a yoke upon our necks, that neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.

FINIS.





GODS CALL²¹

T O
Weeping and Mourning.

Set out in a

SERMON

B E F O R E

The Honourable House of *Commons*

Assembled in P A R L I A M E N T, at their late
Solemne Fast, *January, 29. 1644.*

B E I N G,
The day before the TREATY (at Uxbridg) began.

R B Y

JOHN WHINCOP, D. D.

*Late Fellow of Trin: Coll: in Cambridge, now Rector of
the Church of Clothall in Hartford-shire.*

Published by Order of that House.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. Psal. 126. 5.

Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Mat. 5. 4.

Sicut Penitentiae Comes dolor est, Ita Lachryme Testes sunt doloris. Aug.

Apud Deum non tam valet mensura Temporis quam doloris, non Abstinencia tam Ciborum, quam mortificatio vitiorum. Hieron.

L O N D O N,

Printed by ROBERT LEYBURN, for SAMUEL MAN,
dwelling, in PAULS Church-yard, at the signe
of the SAVAN. 1645. 1644

COLE'S CASE

2111



John V. ...

...

...

...

LONDON

...

...

...

To the Honorable House of Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT.



*OW unwillingly I am drawn
to expose these my homely
thoughts to publike view, my
former silence in this kinde,
(ever till now) may beare
some testimony unto others.
And certainly had not an
higher Power over-ruled my
naturall inclination, I had
chosen rather to have buried
them in silence, then run such*

an hazard of proclaiming mine own weakness.

But your Commons (Honourable and Worthy Senators) the Desire of Friends, and Hopes of doing some good, by pressing a Subject so necessary and so much wanting in these sad and secure days of ours, have perswaded me to cast in my Mite (such as it is) God's blessing upon it I know can make it usefull to some, which is all the Aume I have, or any Ambitions of.

It has often troubled me (notwithstanding all your pious Instructions, and frequent Exhortations, both by former and late Orders, Notwithstanding all the Judgements of God daily growing upon the Land) to see the most, every where, so little moved, so little humbled as they are. And (I confess) there's nothing sadds my heart more, and makes mee feare an heavier Judgment towards, then it is, to thinke how little men are moved, how little bettered by all that hitherto has befallen us,

It is one of the Symptomes (among divers others) that great Chancellour a of Paris makes; of the ensuing downfall of a Church, Fastus & superbia Ecclesiasticorum, and it holds as

a Gerson Parisiensis part.
1. de signis
Ruinae Eccle-
siae.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

true likewise of a declining State, the want of H. mility, and being sensible of the Rod of God upon it. - To be sick and not perceive it, to be wounded and not feel it, to be in imminent Danger, and not to heed it, is the next step to Ruine and Destruction.

Oh that I could say this distempered Nation of ours, were not so sick, not so in danger, as (God knows) it is! or if it be, (as it's too manifest it is) at least it were more apprehensive of its Malady, and more deeply affected with its own misery.

I must acknowledge your care (Honourable and Beloved) in prescribing many wholesome Remedies for our Cure, and Recovery: but I can never clear our negligence and stupiditie, in not using those good means both God and You have prescribed as we should.

I thought it therefore my Duty (by your example in your publike places, so I in mine, (especially being Call'd thereunto) as a poore Watchman of Israell, to give warning, and in this Sermon, to tell England what I see: namely this, That the Reason Why it is not delivered is, because it is not sufficiently humbled, Why God does not shew Mercy, and put an end to our wofull distractions is, because we are not yet fit enough to receive it.

I have prest the Duty with as moving an Argument as can be, viz. the Manner of God's dealing with us, and because he himself requires, and calls for it. What I preached to you that were present, I have faithfully beer published for the use of those, that (upon emergent and waighy Occasions) were absent, not altering anything, the better to silence all mistakes.

What ever it be, it is your own, the fruit and issue of your own Commands: the Lord blesse it to you all, and You in all your great endeavours for the Publick, that if it be his blessed will, Truth and Peace may at last, by your means accrew to this unthankfull unworthy Nation: However, though Israel be not gathered, yet that you may be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and your God may be your strength.

*This is the prayer of
your most humble servant in the Lord,
John Whincop.*



A
SERMON

Preached before the Honourable
House of Commons, at their last Solemne
Fast, January, 29. 1644.

Being the day before the TREATY.

ISAIAH, 22. 12.

In that day did the Lord God of Hosts, call to weeping and to mourning, and to baldnesse, and to girding with sack-cloth.



Sad Text and sad times sute well together; It hath pleased God out of his infinite providence in this latter age of the World, to cast us into weeping and mornefull times. I have therefore thought fit to present you with a Subject answerable, and call you this day to no other then what God himselfe calls you to in my Text, *to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldnesse, and to girding with sack-cloth.*

B

And

And now, what the Orator (being to treat of an heave Subject) wished of his Auditors that they were all *Animis simul ac Oculis materiæ paræ*, answerable both in hearts and eyes to the matter he had in hand; so could I wish of all you that heare me this day, that I might have your eyes and your hearts too, your eyes to run over with teares whiles I speake of weeping, and your hearts too, to overflow with griefe while I discourse of mourning, and of that which is the cause of them both, the troubles and perplexities of poore distressed Zion.

Nazien.

Nor is it a thing so unquall I sue for, if good *Nazienzen* was so deeply affected at the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, that he profest of himselfe he could not forbear weeping when hee did but reade them, what thinke you would he have done had he beheld with his eyes those things hee read of there. And yet *this, this* is your heave Lott this day, not to reade the stories of our mournings, with the sad Causes and Occasions of it (those future ages will doe, I dare say, not with dry eyes) but, to heare with your eares, and see with your eyes, those things which may justly make you wish with the Prophet *Jeremy*, *That your heads were waters, and your eyes fountains of tears, that you might weepe day and night for the slain of the daughters of your people.*

Ier. 9. 1.

Luke 4. 21.

In that day (sayes my Text) *God calls for it*, and as our Saviour said in another case, so doe I say unto you, even this day is *this Scripture fulfilled* in your eares, for *this, even this* very day of solenne fasting and humbling your foules, (as a proper duty of the day) does God call *to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldnesse, and to girding with sack-cloth.*

I will hold you no longer when you are *cald* (it is no good manners) especially when *Gods calls*.

Attend therefore I beseech you to your Summons, for such is my Text, I can terme it no other then

Gods

Gods Call or
Summons of
a rebellious
and stiff-
necked peo-
ple : wherein
are 4 parti-
culars obser-
vable.

- 1 *Quis*, the *Summoner*, or *Lord*,
partycalling, expressed by *God*,
three Titles. *of Hosts.*
- 2 *Quid*, the *Summons* it selfe, and that is by
way of Call, *The Lord, &c. did call.*
- 3 *Quando*, the time of the *Summons* set down
very punctually, *to a day, In that day.*
- 4 *Ad quid*, the subject, *or what* *summond* to,
viz. to
 - 1 *Weeping.*
 - 2 *Mourning.*
 - 3 *Baldnesse.*
 - 4 *Girding with*
sack-cloth.

But before I come unto particulars as Geographers use to doe, first, take a perspective or generall view of a Towne or Countrey with the bounds and limits of it, then afterwards describe every streete in the one, and enclosure in the other : So shall I crave leave to raise one Observation in generall, containing the sum of all, thereby to shew you the Text in perspective, as it were, at first, then afterward proceed unto particulars.

The generall observation is this.

That there are some peculiar Times wherein God call's for a more extraordinary measure of Humiliation then otherwise.

Obs.

In that day (sayes my Text) and what day that is you shall heare by and by.

It is true, God expects humility and lowlinesse at all times, according to his own example, *Learne of me for I am meeke and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest unto your souls.* And what doth the Lord thy God require of thee but to doe Justice and to love Mercie and to walke humbly with thy God. A Christians life is a meere pilgrimage, *Παροικος ἔξ ἑσθλῶν* : wee are all strangers and Pilgrimes here, and the path wee walke in must be humility. *Humble your selves therefore under the mighty hand of God,* sayes the Apostle Saint Peter, and Christ has annext a promise

Matth. 11. 29.

Micah 6. 8.
Chryl.

a Discite à me non mundum fabricare, non cuncta visibilia & invisibilia creare non in ipso mundo miracula facere,

et mortuos suscitare, sed quam mitis sum et humilis,
Aug. de verbis Dom.

Frustra appellamur Christiani, si imitatores non fuerimus Christi, &c.

Leo in Serm. de Nat. Dom.
1 Pet. 5 6.

Luke 14. 11.
b Omnes delectat celsitudo sed humilitas gradus est, quid tenens pedem ultimat? cadere vis? non ascende, à gradu incipe & ascendi, Aug.

Cogitas magnam constituere fabricam celsitudinis? de fundamento primis cogita humilitatis, Aug. de verbo Dom.
c Tertul. lib. de penit. c. ult.
Joel 2. 11, 12, &c.

mise unto it, *He that humbleth himselfe shall be exalted*, No such way to be high as to below, to be exalted as to be humbled. *b* What *Terrullian* says, *c* *Nec ulla rei quam penitentia natus sum*, our whole life should be nothing else but a continued act of Repentance and Humiliation, is true, yet this hinders not, but that there may and ought to be degrees, and according to the occasion requiring it should be more intense sometimes, and extraordinary.

Take but three instances for all.

The day of the Lord is very great and terrible sayes the Prophet *Joel*, there's the foundation laid, what must be done then when that day comes? it follows in the 12. ver. *Turn ye unto me with all your hearts, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning*, (the very words of my Text) and so goes on, *Rend your hearts and not your garments, &c.* but who is this that must doe it? each one a part in a corner? No, it follows in the 15. ver. *Blow the Trumpet in Zion, sanctifie a Fast, call a Solemne Assembly*, it must be an Assembly, and a solemne one too, the people must be gathered, the Congregation sanctified, &c. Yea, but though it be so, may not some be exempted? great men? and children? and such like? No, in the 16. ver. *They must assemble the Elders too*, (not the greatest exempted from humbling themselves,) no nor the least neither, *Gather the children, and those that suck the breasts, yea, let the Bridegroom goe forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closter*, (all chambering and merriment must be laid aside that day) nay, the Priests must not be exempt, but they, the Ministers of the Lord *must weep betwene the Porch and the Altar*, and say, *Spare thy people o Lord, and give not thy Heritage to reproach*. An extraordinary humiliation, suitable unto an extraordinary occasion.

An other is *Lament. 2. 18.* speaking in the former verse, *how God had throwne downe and not pitied, and caused the enemy to reioyce over them, &c.* Therefore sayes the Prophet in the 18 verse, *Let teares run down*, but if they do, will not a few serve the turn? no, they must *run down like a river*, (it must be a great many tears must make up a river) but say they do thus
all

all the day, I hope wee may take our rest at night and be quiet, no let them run down like a river day and night too, and give thy self no rest, let not the apple of thine eye cease.

The last is *Levit. 23. 27.* On the tenth day of the seventh moneth shall be a day of atonement, what then? ye shall afflict your souls, a low degree of humiliation, yet affliction of soul must goe before atonement: and it follows in the 29 verse, *Who so that shall not be afflicted in the same day, hee shall be cut off from among his people.*

Examples would be infinite to produce for the truth of this, *Joshua* upon an extraordinary occasion, viz. (in Israels fleeing before the men of Ai) *rent his clothes, and fell upon the earth on his face untill even-tide, he and the Elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads.* Iosh. 7. 6.

Job in the day of his heavy affliction, *Rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshiped.* Iob 1. 10.

David fasted, and went in, and lay all night upon the ground: the day would fail mee to tell of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, the *Ninevites*, *Hezekiah* with infinite moe, who upon extraordinary occasions were humbled extraordinarily. 2 Sam. 12. 16.

And not without good reason.

1 Because God at such times draws nigher and comes closer up to a man or Nation, then otherwhile, *the axe is laid to the root of the tree*, says *John* the Baptist, so long as it did but lop off some of the outer-branches there was no danger, but when once it comes to be laid to the root, then it is high time to look about. Math 3. 10.

When a great *Army* keeps at a distance from a Towne or City, the inhabitants are not much troubled, but when once it draws nigher, makes approches, begins to intrench, and raise batteries about it, then every man therein bestirs himself, & betakes himself to his weapons. Thus God sometimes keeps at a distance, far off in other Countreys, then men count themselves secure, but when hee draws nigh, makes approches, to our very houses, Towns, Cities, raises batteries, of plague, famine, sword, &c. to breake a Kingdome in pieces withall, and environs it round with his Judge-

ments, then every one had need bestir himselfe, betake himselfe to his best weapons, *Christianorum arma sunt preces & lachryme*, such as heer in my Text, *Weeping and mourning, and baldnesse, and girding with sackcloth*, extraordinary expressions of dejection, ^c answerable to Gods extraordinary approaches in his judgments.

^c Gravissima
peccata, gra-
vissimis lamen-
tus indigent,
Aug.

2 Because sins have been more extraordinary, else things had never come to this height: Judgments make the breach, but sin first raisd the battery; & how great soever thy plagues are thou mayst thank thy great sins that sweld them to such a bulk.

Now by the rule of proportion, as thy sins have beene extraordinary which have caused thy judgments, so must thy humiliation be, ^d if ever thou wilt answer Gods call, for in that day he looks it should be so.

^d Vniuscuius-
que mens tan-
tum penitendo
compunctionis
sue bibit la-
chrymas, quan-
tum se à Deo
meminit amisisse
per culpas.
Greg. in pa-
stor.
Exod. 3. 2.

3 Because thats the onely way to finde comfort and succour, there are but two ways of meeting God in his judgments, either by rising up, or falling down.

1 By rising up, and standing out with God, and thus never did any prosper, never was any thing got by that but ruine and destruction; what got *Pharaoh* by his sullen stubbornnesse, when in the pride and haughtinesse of his heart, hee cryed out, *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice, I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israell goe.* No? Yes, but ere long *Pharaoh shall know the Lord*, and shall let *Israell goe*, when Lice, and Murrain, and Flies, and Hail, and Thunder, and Lightning, and all those ten plagues of Egypt come pressing upon *Pharaohs* head; then, *I have sinned, entreat the Lord for me*, and afterwards how was hee and his mighty host all drowned in the red Sea, and made a spectacle of pride and basenesse to all posterities for evermore? So what got *Rabshakeh* by all his railings? *Who is that God that shall deliver out of my hands?* bravely spoke proud dust and ashes! and yet how soon was he brought down? and *one Angell in one night slue an hundred and fourscore and five thousand of his mighty host, that in the morning they were all deadcorps?* So what got the old World by their monstrous uncleannesse, but an universall Deluge? What *Sodom and Gomorrah* but fire and

Isai. 36. 10.
37. 36.

and brimstone from heaven? It were endlesse to mention *Manasses*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Julian*, and others, who paid deare for standing out against God. No, *Woe unto him that strive with his Maker*, saith the Prophet *Isaiab*, *Let the posterity strive with the posterity of the earth*, but if with God, know that he is able to shiver the sturdiest Okes, and bring the tallest Cedars down.

Isai. 45. 9.

No good then to be done this way.

2 There is no way left then but by falling down, *e Come, let us worship*, says *David*, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker: thus did *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Israel*, *Job*, *Ezekiah*, &c. and prevailed.

e Esto parva in oculis tuis, ut sis magnus in oculis Dei, tanto enim eris apud Deum preciosior, quanto fueris in oculis tuis defectior.

Isid.
Psal. 95. 6.

These are Reasons sufficient to shew why at some ^{*}peculiar times God calls for a more extraordinary measure of Humiliation then at other.

Give mee leave only to apply it to two sorts of men, and then I'll proceed.

1 By way of *Reproof* to all such as make no distinction of times at all. *In that day*, says my Text, *God calls*, in this and the like solemn days of Humiliation, You and the Laws of the Land call, to *Fasting*, *Weeping*, and *Mourning*; And would you think it possible, (notwithstanding all your strict Orders and Injunctions) that there should be a generation of men found that neither heed *God calls nor yours*? that make choice of this day, not to worke and labour in (necessity and want of daily bread might be pretended for that,) but to hunt, and hawke in, to game and sport in, to drinke and be drunke in? Pardon me (*Honourable and beloved*) I speak so plainly, I would to God I did not speak as knowingly, that at the same instant when you and other penitent souls through the Land, have been mounting your prayers up to heaven, they have been mounting their Hawks, running their Hounds, as if they contended on purpose, which should obtain their ayme, or mount up to heaven fastest, the cry of your prayers or their sins. When you have been prostrating your selves, and groveling upon the ground before the Lord, others have been stretching upon their beds of Ivory, weltring in chambring and wantonnesse,

or

f *Sævus criminum stimulus libido, que nunquam quietum patitur manere affectum, nocte fervet, die anhelat, &c.* Ambrosius. de Abel & Cain.

Altebrofa voluptas est, adulterina incunditas que mel habet in ore, fel in corde, aculeum in dorso. Beda.

O ignis infernalis luxuria! cuius materia gula, cuius flamma superbia cuius scintille prava colloquia, cuius fumina infamia, cuius cinis immundities, cuius finis gehenna.

Hieron.

Ier. 48. 6.

h' u' m' d' i' s' a' b' o' u' s' i' n' a' i' v' i' t' i' s' o' d' a' i' t' d' t' i' l' a' u' t' a' r' a' s' o' u' s' a' u' t' e' s' , k' a' t' d' i' k' h' l' i' f' i' n' o' u' s' o' i' x' e' i' t' r' e' s' o' n' k' o' t' e' s' .

Clem. Alex.

Revel. 3. 16.

i Sic pectora

magis obfessa maior, illa non sunt ferienda levi, Seneca.

f or else contending too, but at Cards and Dice, at unlawfull Games and Sports, (especially on such days as these) though three Kingdoms lay at stake, they would not leave their game or dalliance to save one.

Nay, when you have been all lockt up here in Gods house, or in your private Closets, powring out your cries and teares before God, Are there not some (it may be at this very instant) who make choice of this, as the surest time to locke themselves up in Taverns and Alehouses, powring out their oaths and blasphemies: and in their healths and intemperance, wallowing *g* in their own vomit, as the Prophet speaks, as if they strive, who should poure fastest, you out, your prayers and tears: or they in, their healths and drunkenness.

O blessed God! that ever there should be such in these times of Reformation? whose delight it is, to wallow in excessse and riot, while their native Country, and it may be neerest friends, are wallowing in their own blood: how need had the sword of justice search every corner, out for these (and if they did; I am confident, they might finde store of them) whose work it is to ravell out as fast as you doe, men of prophane minds, who like those Cyclops in Euripides, *Haud ulla numina expavescent cœlitum*: neither feare God nor man, or those ancient Germans, who thought themselves, *securi adversus deos, adversus homines*; exempt from feare of either, much of the same opinion with that impious *Deionax*, who being threatened with hell for his villanies, made a mock at it and said; *Tunc credam cum illic venero*, I'll believe there is a hell when I come there and not before: Impious wretches! who may too-soone feele to their eternall cost, what here in time they would not believe; *h' a' s' o' u' s' ,* as Clem. Alex. calls them, *a salute alienos*, far from the thought or hopes either, of salvation, who if they fall not under judgement here, will never be able to escape the judgement hereafter.

2 It would not be beside the purpose if I should name another sort not so bad as these, yet worthy of reproofe, who doe observe both Gods Call and yours, and take notice of

this

this day, but in such a cold, perfunctory, sleighty, superficial manner, as may justly provoke God, to spew both them and there luke-warme devotions out of his mouth, that come and present a body here *as St Iux^{us} 450 as Chrysost. speaks*, their soule is abroad upon their shops; their sports; their lusts and pleasures, that come with no preparation; and here with lesse attention and depart hence with no gain or profit at all, save onely this, that they have gained one step neerer their condemnation then before.

Revel. 3. 16.

I forbear to mention such as sleep away; or talke away these employments so, that they cannot heare God when hee calls; who may rightly say as *Aristotle* did (after a long Oratio on, being asked how he liked it) that he did not heare it, for hee was thinking of another thing all the while; or if they doe minde it is to carpe, or carry away something to make sport withall when they come home, if there be any such here, I desire them to take this home with them; and make sport with it if they please: That every Sermon they heare, if they be not better by it they are the worse, and neerer their condemnation then before, and that this and other Sermons they heare and scorne, shall rise up in judgement against them another day, without true and timely repentance.

3 I shall not neede to speake any thing of a third sort till by and by, who doe heare, and attend, and humble themselves, and in an extraordinary manner too, it may bee for a day, hanging down their heads like a bulrush, as the Prophet speaks, but time to their old sins all the moneth after. And (God be mercifull to us all in this one thing) God has lookt, and cald, and lookt again for above these three yeares for some fruit of all our extraordinary humiliations: And there is not a Fig-tree in this Vineyard of the Lord, but he hath diged about it, and dung'd it, and watted it, and hath come in an extraordinary manner (as you shall heare by and by) these many yeares seekin for fruit thereon, and can finde none, none did I say? yes too much bad fruit, besides leaves and blossomes of outward profession, wilde figgs enow, wilde opinions and wilde fancies, wilde errors and blasphemies broacht eve-

I sai. 58. 5.

ry day, that the soule is mortall and sleepes with the body, that men may put away their wives and take new at pleasure, that the Law is no rule to walke by, that a man may be saved without either faith or repentance, That 'tis as impossible for a childe of God to sin, as it is for Christ himselfe, that the Church of England is no true Church, The Ministry no true Ministry, the Scriptures no Scriptures, nor the infallible Word of God but inventions of men, I forbear to goe farther, I dare not, such blasphemies against the Sonne of God, against the blessed Spirit of God, &c. as I professe I dare not mention: and wilde wicked lives, and conversations answerable thereto, and is this all the fruit God shall have?

We all talke of Reformation, and from our soules wee desire it, but still where is it? shew me. one lust thou hast mastered, one passion thou hast conquered, one darling bosome sin thou hast mortified of late more then before: Talke not of Reformation onely but shew it. Was there evet more lying, cou-sening, malice, oppression then now? nay, (God be mercifull unto us) I know not what kinde of new cheate and hypocrisie the father of falsehood hath taught some kinde of men, whereby to cloake all their fraud and villanies, by a new way of pretending they are for the Cause, then they thinke all is well, thereby discrediting a good Cause, dishonouring a good God, abusing your good intentions, to worke their own sinister ends by: Let not men talke onely of Reformation but shew it in deed, and in truth: shew how much better thou art for all those extraordinary dayes? nothing but bad fruits, or at the least barrennesse after all?

My soule trembles within me to thinke what will be thy doome if thou goest on, surely no better then what there is pronounced in the parable, *Cut it down, why cumberst it the ground?*

Luke 13.

I have held you too long under reproofe, I pray God it may be as Solomon speakes, (Prov. 6. 23.) *a Re-prooffe of instruction, which may be the way to life.*

2 Give me leave in the second place to turne my speech to you

you (men, brethren, and Fathers) of whom I hope better things, though I thus speake thereby to stir up you to the prosecution of this duty. It's that God calls for, It's that the bleeding condition of this Kingdome cries for, It's that this ensuing Treaty pleads for, It's that you are all met here together for, in an extraordinary manner to humble your selves before the Lord this day.

I need not use *Arguments* to presse it, cast back your eyes onely to the reasons I mentioned before, and let them work kindly upon you, then I feare not the good successe they may have with you.

1 Have you not observed God comming neerer and neerer every yeer then other. There was a time, when he kept aloof off beyond Sea, in *Germany* many yeeres together, *England* all that while was fast asleepe, then he stept over into *Ireland*, and they drunk deep of poor *Germanies* cup, a cup of trembling and bloud even to the very dregs, *England* thereby was rouz'd in deed, but as a man newly awakt, scarce sensible or apprehensive of his danger, was so long a stretching and getting up to their help, that mean while they were beaten downe, poore souls slaine and butchered without compassion, and as little lamentation made here for them.

Well now of lateer yeeres God has come neerer, over to us, with his bright sword brandishing in his hand, laying heaps upon heaps, heaps upon heaps, in most of our quarters. blood, ruine, and destruction, has beene the sad portion of too many, and God knows on vvhom next the Lot, may fall. A man vvould think by this time sure *England* should be awakt, and its high time (God waken us all in his mercy, the storme beats very fierce upon us) howsoever sure this is enough to rouze an ingenious spirit, God is drawn nigher to thee in his judgments:) O that it may be thy care, in a more extraordinary manner to draw nigh him by true and unfeined repentance, and the rather:

2 Because it is manifest the provocations have exceeded, else it had beene impossible things should have come to such a heighth as now they are. Sins against mercies,

Math. 27. 24.

k In tribunal
mentis tue
ascende con-
tra te, & reum
te constituto
ante te, nolite
ponere post te,
ne Deus te po-
nat ante te,
Aug. de Vtil.
pzn.

sins against Judgement, against grace, and the light of the Gospel. Oaths and blasphemies, superstition and Idolatry, oppression and injustice, bloudshed & cruelty, lust and uncleanness, profaneness and ingratitude, gluttony and drunkenness, in a word, contempt or neglect of God, of Christ, of mercie and all, these have wound up the string so high, that without letting it down again by an extraordinary humiliation, wee can expect nothing but breaking and destruction: And let none heer (with Pilate in the Gospel) wash his hands and say, *I am free from all such iniquities.* k Let me tell thee whoever thou art, there's not a man or woman either, that heates me this day, but they have had a share in *filling up the measure* of poore Englands sinnes, and consequently of its Judgements.

Oh! it was thy pride and ambition (whoever thou art, that art guilty of such sins) that hath caused this pride of heart amongst men, these risings and swellings in the Commonweale: It was thy excessse and riot, that hath rob'd and plundered thousands, and left them not worth a bit of bread: It was thy wallowing in lust and uncleanness, hath made others wallow in their own goare: Thy error in life and judgement, that hath broach'd so many monstrous errors in the Church and Kingdome: Thy disorderly affections within, that hath made such broiles and stirs without. Here, here's matter enough of humiliation and dejection. This may presse the duty home, especially, if;

3 Lastly, you consider, there is no peace or safety to be expected any other way. The *Parliament* hath done what it can, Councels have done what they can, friends, and assistants have done what they can, Armies and Commanders have done what they can. (I recall my selfe, I wish they had, if so, in all probability it had beene better with us all then now it is) but to go on, ordinary sleighty fasting and prayin and humbling have done what they can, and yet his anger is not turn'd away, but his hand is stretch'd out still,

Now

Now try then, what extraordinary prayers and teares, and humiliation I can doe: to stand out with God any longer, I have shewed before, is desperate madnesse; no way in the world left now but this, to cry mightily unto God, with the poore Prodigall, *Father, I have sinned against heaven and thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Sonne*: with Job to roll thy selfe in dust and ashes, and sit downe astonished at the goodnesse of God, that all this while thou wast not consumed: with David, to cry out (in another case, something inverted) if he have any delight in me, he will accept (not for mine, but for my Saviours sake) my broken heart and dejected Spirit, *A broken and a contrite heart, O God thou wilt not despise*. But if otherwise, *He say I have no pleasure in him, behold here I am*, here our poore Kingdome fainting and bleeding before thee is, here the representative body of it, weeping and mourning is, behold! here we all are, doe as shall seeme good in thine own eyes.

Isai. 5. 25.
O vera penitentia quid de te non reseramus? omnia ligata tu soluis, omnia clausa tu referas, omnia adversa tu mitigas, omnia contrita tu sanas, omnia confusa tu lucidas, omnia disparata tu animas. Cyprian. de laude pen. Psal. 51.

I am sorry I have bene so long upon the generall (though close and genuine, and the sum of all) I must be the briefer in the particulars.

And first, to begin with that which is the beginning of all, the *Quis*, the party summoning or calling, exprest by his three titles, *Lord, God, of Hosts*.

1 Sometimes we reade in Scripture of Lord alone (Gen. 4. 4.) *The Lord had respect to Abel*. (12. 17.) *The Lord plagued Pharaoh*. *The Lord said, who made mans mouth?* (Exod. 4. 11.) *The Lord blesse thee and keepe thee*. *The Lord make his face shine upon thee*, &c. (Numb. 6. 24.)

2 Sometimes of God alone (Gen. 1. 3.) *God said, let there be light*, (ver. 6.) *God said, let there be a firmament*, &c. *God said to Abraham*, (Gen. 17. 6.) *God said to Jonah*, (4. 9.) *God spake unto Moses*, (Exod. 6. 2.) *God spake in time past*, (Heb. 1. 1.) &c.

3 Sometimes both Lord and God, (Gen. 2. 7.) *The Lord God framed man of the dust*, (ver. 8.) *The Lord God planted a garden*, so *The Lord God of your fathers* (Ex. 3. 15) *The Lord God of the Hebrews*, (ver. 18.) Thus saith the

1 Isai. 10. 23.

22 5.

Psal. 69. 6.

80. 4.

89 8.

2 Sam. 5. 10.

1 King. 19. 10.

&c.

m Ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia. Aug. Conf. l. c. 2.

n Ex perpetuitate creaturarum intelligitur Creator aternus, ex magnitudine omnipotens, ex ordine & dispositione sapiens, ex gubernatione bonus. Aug. in Iohan.

* Revel. 1. 8.

o Summus es & non mutaris, neque peragitur in te hodiernus dies, & tamen in te peragitur, quia in te sunt & ista omnia. Aug. Conf.

p Psal. 136. 8.

q Iob 37. 5.

p Ante primordia seculorum, & ante omne quod vel ante dici potest, tu es, & Deus es, Dominusque omnium, que creasti: & apud

Lord God, (Exod. 12. 20.) The Lord God hath spoken, (Amos 3. 7.) &c.

Here all three, as in divers other places, 1 to move the more awfull Reverence and Attention.

I shall not insist long, onely give a touch of each and so proceede.

1 Lord, יְיָ my Lords, so יְיָ Basis quia Deus est basis & fundamentum omnium creaturarum, because God is the Basis and foundation of all his creatures m Hereupon יְיָ Dominus cui rei domestica cura incumbit, a Master who takes care and provides for all his household, upholds, provides for, and maintains them all.

This is hee that here Calls, even the Lord thy Master, All this vast Universe that here thou seest before thine eyes is but his house, All creatures in heaven and earth his domestick servants, he keeps them, he findes them, n hee feedes them, he clothes them, O what a house-keeper heer is? How many Tables doth hee spread every day? How many beds doth he make every night? How many Servants doth he keepe continually? Wilt thou not answer when this great Master calls?

Disobedience and want of attendance in some servants have procured the frownes of their Lords, and turned them out to shame and beggery. O! what wilt thou doe if this great Lord frowne upon thee? If he turne thee out of doors whither wilt thou goe? let me tell thee this, thou wilt never get so good a Master again; this is the first title, hee is thy Lord and Master.

2 It is God too that calls, יְיָ hee who is an eternall being of himself, who was and who is, and who is to come, o God blessed for evermore.

The God in whom all other beings begin and end, p the eternall Creator, he who has made the Heavens by the word of his mouth, and all the host of them, by the breath of his lips; The Sun to p rule the day, the Moon and the Stars to govern the night, who thundreth q with his voice, yea, and that glorious voice, He who hath made the Earth to hang upon nothing

nothing, q and all creature therein by the word of his power, Hee who hath made the vast *Ocean*, and set bounds and limits to its proud waves: 1 Who hath made *Leviathan* to take his pastime therein, who maketh the *Sea* to boil like a pot, the *Sea* like a pot of ointment. This is that God, and this is his name. He who hath made all, preserves all, and can as easily destroy all again. He who is 3 *God*, the All-seeing God whose eyes are ten thousand times brighter than the Sun, which run too and fro 3 through the whole earth, who 4 sees all thy ways and ponders all thy paths, beholds thy lying down 5 and rising up, looks upon thee in thy private 1 Closer, in thy bolted Chamber, under thy drawn curtains, in the dark and black night, sees all thy secret villanies and stolne embraces, beholds all thy lusts and wantonnesse, all thy plots and villanies: This is that God that Calls, whose dreadful power thou art never able to withstand.

3 If this will not move thee, take in one Title more, he is not onely Lord, and Lord God, but Lord God of Hosts.

The Lord is a man of war, 6 sang Moses of old, the Lord is his name, and hee had need be a man of war, that hath so many hosts under his command.

It may be it will be demanded, how is he said to be the Lord of Hosts? I answer, in a word, As all creatures in the world, visible and invisible, are at his command, hee made them, and hee is the great governour over them all. Nor is it one hoste alone that hee is commander of, but many are his Hosts, search from the heavens above, to the valleys of the depths beneath, and you shall finde all full of Gods Hosts.

Under the earth, floods and waters, stones and mineralls, the crooked serpents lurking in their dens, and monsters hidden in their holes, are all Gods Hosts, ready to come out at his command.

Above the earth, Beasts and all cattell, fish and feathered fowle, nay, the least and basest of the creatures, Frogs, caterpillars, lice and flies, what hosts of them did God bring upon one of the proudest Tyrants that ever the Sun beheld, and subdued him withall. *Exod 8.*

te rerum omnium instabilem stant causa, & rerum omnium mutabilem imutabiles manent origines, & omnium irrati- nabilem & temporalium sempiterna vi- vunt rationes, &c. Aug. Conf. l. 1. c. 6.

q Iussit & ex- tendit campos subfidere valles Fronde tegi sil- vas, lapidosos surgere montes, Lactant.

r Deus totius oculus est quia omnia vidit, totus manus est quia omnia operatur, totus pes est quia ubi- que est, Aug. in 1 Iob 38. 11.

2 Iob 41. 31.

3 2 Chro. 16. 9

4 Iob 31. 4.

5 Psal. 139. 2.

6 Exod. 13. 9.

f Nesciunt quod ubique sis, quem nullus circum- scribit locus: & solus es presens, etiam his que longe sunt a te. Aug. Conf. l. 4. cap. 2.

I neede not mention here *Hoftes of men*, most properly said to be the Lords, because of the particlar visible influence and disposall hee has of all armies in the world, they move not without his warrant, they stir not without his command, not a stroke struck but God guides it, not a bullet let fly but God directs it. How mighty a Prince count you him, that hath three or foure huge Armies on foote at once? The Lord hath more, All the hofsts and men in the world, he's Lord Generall over them all, and leads them forth, and draws them in, *whither for mercie or for iudgement*, as seemeth good in his own eyes.

Psal. 146. 3.

Will you go higher, into the *Aire*, and see what Hofsts hee hath there? *Fire, hale, snow, vapours, windes and stormes*, all fulfill his word, (yet higher) *the Heaven, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and all the hofsts of them.*

Yet higher *above the heavens* Angels and Arch-angels, glorious Cherubims and Seraphims, standing all ready to obey his word.

O! what a Lord heere is indeed? the Lord God of Hofsts.

Use.

1 What *Terror* should this strike into every rebellious sinner, into all the enemies of Gods Church and children, while they consider they doe nothing but *kick against the pricks*, wage war against the King of Kings, against the Lord God of Hofsts.

Infestantur
et oderunt ser-
vos Dei et in eis
Deum. Salviah.
de provid. 1. 8.

O! thinke on it sadly by thy selfe alone sometimes, and say, whom is it that I revile so, by my Oathes and blasphemies? Whom is it I buffet by my injustice and oppression? whom is it I so oft out dare by my incorrigible stubbornnesse? whom doe I thus persecute by my rage and mallice? but this Lord, even the Lord God of Hofsts.

O blessed God! that ever *dust and ashes* should be so audacious thus to contend with its maker? did an ordinary Lord or King, come against thee but with a few thousands, how wouldst thou feare and tremble? what horror and amazement then should possesse thy soule, when thou considerst the Lord, the Lord God of Hofsts is comming against mee with

with all his hoasts, with all his judgements, and then thinke, if the least of them all was able to subdue so mighty a Monarch as I mentioned before, what is the greatest, and the great God of them all able to do? When thou crushest a gnat or fly in thy window with thy finger sometimes, thinke, with thy selfe, this and far easier can God presently crush me to peeces! when thou treadest (as thou walkest along) upon a poor Worme or Ante that lies in thy way, say, this, and ten thousand times easier, can God trample me into dust, and tread me into nothing.

Tremble thou earth (saies David) *at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob*; If the earth, that vast and durable body, that never was capable of sinning against its maker (onely clog'd and stain'd with thy impurities) must tremble so, what neede hadst thou dust and ashes, lighter then vanity it selfe, to quake and dread to offend so high a God, that can soone resolve thee and all the world into their first principles, and tumble all into its first Chaos again.

Nay, let not disparate sinners onely, but even all the Nations of the world, yea, you righteous of the earth, *Stand in awe and sin not, commune in your own hearts and be still*, let all dread and reverence before his presence, before hee comes to shake terribly the earth.

2 Meane while lift up your heads o ye gates, and be you life up ye everlasting doores, lift up your heads o ye righteous, and be ioyfull all you that be true of heart, why? For he who is your Saviour is mighty, even the Lord God of Hosts.

What is it that you feare? what is it that you are afraid of? If the Lord himselfe were not on your side, If the Lord himselfe were not on your side when men rise up against you, indeed then you had cause to feare, to feare that they might swallow you up quick, when they are so wrathfully displeased at you. But when you consider that The Lord is with you while you are with him, and if you seeke him, he will be found of you: Why then are your hearts cast down, and heavynesse takes hold upon you? Doe but you keepe close

Psal. 114. 7.

Psal. 4. 4.

Isai. 2. 19.

Psal. 124. 1, 2, 3.

2 Chron. 15. 11

Psal. 46. 11.

11 Sam. 3. 9.

u Dic anime

mea, salus tua
ego sum: sic dic
ut audiam: ecce
auresc, *dis mei*
audete Domine,
aperi eas, & dic
anime mea, sa-
lus tua ego sum:
curre post vo-
cem hanc & ap-
prehendam te.
Aug. Conf.

l. i. c. 5.

x *Quam velox*
est sermo, ubi
Deus magister
est? Cito disci-
tur quod doce-
tur, &c. Leo.

Exod. 20.

1 Sam. 3.

Act. 9.

y *Ignis invisibi-*
lis, & voce sine
sonitu docentur
corda, foris est
ignis, sed intus
qui scientiam
dat. Greg. in
Moral.

Bern.

z *Sanctum*
semper opus in
me spirat ut co-
gitem, compelle
me faciam: sua-
de ut diligam:
confirma me ut
teneam te, cu-
stodi me ne te
perdam. Aug. in
Epiq.

to this God, walke in his ways. depart not from under his banner, then for thy comfort know, there are more with thee then can be against thee so long, as the *Lord of Hosts is with thee, and the God of Jacob is thy refuge.*

3 Let the consideration of all this (in the last place) command attention from the dearest eare; Shall thy Lord speake and thou not heare? Shall thy Lord God call and thou not answer? The Lord God of Hosts, and thou not regard? what running and striving there is, who can come first, when a King or Lord calls? o let not the *Lord of Lords, and King of Kings* call to thee, and thou slight or neglect it. *Speake Lord* (sayes young *Samuel*) *for thy servant heares*; *speake Lord* (say thou) *u speake to my eares that they may heare, speake to my memory that it may retain, speake to my heart and affections that they may be obedient, speake to my life and conversation that it may be answerable, then shall thy servant heare aright, x and not before, onely let it be thy care to listen, and give care when God calls, and that's in the next word, the second generall part of the Text.*

II The *Summons* it selfe, by way of call, *In that day does she Lord Call.*

It will not be amiss in the first place to enquire what is meant by, or how God is said to call, for to expect that hee should appeare as he did to *Moses*, and *speake face to face*, or to call by a vocall Summons as he did *Israel* from *Adonai Simai*, or *Samuel* in the Temple, or *Paul* from heaven, &c. were madness in any now, and beyond either warrant or example.

There are some other wayes then, how God is said to call, and they are divers I'll onely mention foure.

1 *Spiritu*, Inwardly by the motions and inclinations of the *Spirit of God* in the soule of a man, *Verbis mentalibus* (as *Bernard* speaks y) by a voice within, when a man heares as it were, a voice speaking in his bosome, sometimes sweetly breathing good motions, good desires, into his soule, putting him forward to vertue and holinesse, z as *David*, (1 *Chrom.* 17. 1.) *to build the Temple and Israel to turn unto the Lord,* (Hos. 6. 1.

(Hos. 6.1.) Other while checking and pulling a man back from the wayes of sin and wickednesse, (as Joseph, Gen. 39.9.) How can I doe this great wickednesse and so sin against God? Answerable to that gracious promise of his (Isa. 30.21.) Thine eares shall heare a word behinde thee saying, this is the way walke ye in it, when you turne to the right hand, and when you turne to the left.

I need not explain it further, it may be the same spirit within you (at this present) prompts you to the remembrance, what this call is and how oft God hath called this way, and you have neglected it.

1 Verbo, outwardly by his Word and Ordinances, like *Arens Bels*, a sounding in mens eares, or like *Moscs Trumpers*,^a calling men to God: Thus spake God himselfe once upon *Mount Sinai*, in a dreadfull and terrible voice, which made *Moses* himselfe cry out, d I exceedingly feare and quake.

a Exod. 18.35.

b Numb. 10.1.

c Exod. 20.

d Heb. 12.25.

Since by his Prophets, Thus saith the Lord, (Isa. 7.7.-28.16 *Ezek.* 2.4.-5.5. *Amos* 3.2. *Obad.* 1.) Thus saith the holy one (Isa. 30.12.) the high and lofty one, (Isa. 57.15.) Heare the word of the Lord, ye Rulers (Isa. 1.10.) the word of the Lord o ye Kings (Jer. 22.2.) o ye Nations (31.10).

And thus in this later Age does hee call by his Ministers, (Heb. 1.1,2.) *Audio te loquere Domine* (said *Augustine* sweetly) *in tot libris, in tot concionibus, &c.* There's not a good Book you read, not a Chapter you lock on, not a Sermon you heare (formerly often, and now at this instant by my unworthy mouth) but every one is a severall Call from God, and this is the second way.

August.

3 *Misericordis*, By his Mercies, so *Nathan* to *David* (2 Sam. 12.7.) Thus (saith the Lord) I anointed thee King over Israel, I delivered thee out of the hands of Saul, I gave thee thy Masters house, and Wives into thy bosome, and gave thee the house of Israel and Judah, and if this had bene too little, I would have done more. &c. Wherefore hast thou despised the command of the Lord, &c.

The last words intimate, how everyone of the former, were so many severall Calls from God, to bid *David* have a care he shew'd not himselfe unthankfull.

So (Isa. 5. 6.) My welbeloved had a Vineyard in a very fruitful hill, and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest Vine, and built a Towre, and made a Winepresse in it, all this plantin, watering, &c. are so many severall Calls, for what? it follows in what he looked for, to wit, that it should bring forth Grapes. The like you have (Micah. 6. 3.) O my people what have I done unto thee, wherein have I wearied thee, I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, I redeemed thee out of the house of bondage, I sent before thee Moses, Aron, and Miriam, &c. all these were as so many Calls.

So, there's not a Mercy thou receivest, not a blessing thou obtainest, not a danger thou avoidest, whatsoever good befalls thee Spirituall or Temporall, for Soule, Body, or Estate, all are so many Calls from God, to teach thee to be answerable.

4 *Judicia*, By Judgments, Crosses, and afflictions, so (Micah 6. 9.) The Lords voice crieth unto the City, and the man of wisdom shall see thy Name, the Lords voice cry how does it cry? *Ans.* in the next words, *Heare ye the Rod, & who hath appointed it!* viz. There is a secret Voice in the Rod of God, in all the Judgments and corrections of God, by that Rod does the Lord cry, and therefore that Voice, his people must heare. *Heare ye the Rod, &c.* a So (Amos 4. from the 6 Verse downwards) I have given you cleanness of teeth, withheld the raine, I have smitten you with blasting and mildew, I have sent among you the pestilence, I have overturned some as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and what's the burden or under-song, almost of every Verse? *Yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord.* intimating thereby, that by every one of these God gave a secret call to turne to him which they not answering, God complains of so often, yet have ye not returned unto me saith the Lord. These foure severall wayes doth God call.

The Question now is which of these is meant here? one or all?

I answer, God had cald often by two of these before.

1 By his Spirit, often breathing upon them, putting good resolutions,

a Et si non lo-
quatur Domi-
nus, satis ta-
men flagelli
pessis & plagis
vocat; Vt enim
Scripturam no-
bis omnem,
Prophetas, Do-
ctores, & Mo-
nitores esse
figamus a-
rumni tamen
& calamitati-
bus nos erudit,
ut breviter des-
nirc possimus,
quamvis pla-
gam, vocatio-
nem ad peni-
tentiam esse.
Calvin. in loc.

solutions, good desires, good purposes into their hearts, as Micah 6.6. *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come with thousands of rams, or ten thousand rivers of oil? Shall I give the first borne of my body for the sinne of my soule, &c.* And (Jerem. 31.18.) *I heard Ephraim bemoaning himselfe, thou hast chastised mee, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke, Turne thou me, and I shall be turned, for thou art my Lord and my God.*

2 By his *Mercies*, they were his spouse, his darling, his well beloved, his vineyard, nothing too deare for them, they had his laws, his Statutes, and his Ordinances, for no Nation under heaven had he done so as for them: and yet these two voices could doe on good, they were a stiff-necked and back-sliding generation.

Therefore God tries the other two.

1 Sending his servants daily, rising up early and sending them, Jer. 7. 25.-25. 4.-26, 5. threatening, warning, promising, deterring, using all means possible.

2 By his *Judgements*, as in the forementioned place (Amos 4) as likewise all this Chapter over, in those stirr, troubles, and distractions, that were amongst them. These two are especially meant here, when the other two would do no good, and more principally the last of all.

Whence I shall desire you to observe with me Gods manner of dealing with a Kingdome or Nation.

1 *How he seldome strikes, but first he calls, and gives warning.*

2 *How for the most part he begins with the soft still voice of his Spirit and mercies, then louder with his word, at last, londest of all by his iudgments.*

I will put both together, and yet dispatch it in a word, because it hath been often largely handled in this place before.

It were endlesse to heape up examples for the truth of this.

Let the old world say how long God bore with them, even

one hundred and twenty years: *Noah* preaching, and God waiting all the while for their conversion. Let *Pharaoh* speake, how long it was ere God destroyed him, not till after ten severall warnings, and many more provocations. How oft was *Lot* grieved with the unrighteous conversation of the *Sodomites*, and no doubt, warned and preached repentance unto them. How did *Jonah* goe up and down the City crying, *Yet 40 dayes and Nineveh shall be destroyed*, before God utterly overthrew them?

Nay, look over all the Prophets, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, and the rest, and see, those heathen Nations, how God vouchsafed to warne them. The burden of *Tyre*, the burden of *Maab*, the burden of *Egypt*, of *Babylon*, of *Ammon*, of *Edom*, &c. Thus saith the Lord unto, &c. Thus saith the Lord, &c. heres warning upon warning even unto them.

But *in ist ar omnium*, famous is the manner of Gods dealing with this people of *Israel* above all the Nations in the world, how many warnings they had, how many Prophets he sent, how many means he used, were endlesse to recite: he that is but ordinarily versed in the story of the Bible cannot be ignorant of this, how many *sweet Admonitions* the Spirit of God breathed into them, how by his servants mouths and messengers he sent, warning them by his Word to turne to him. How oft he spak by his *Mercies* Spirituall and temporall, such as no Nation in the World enjoyed beside, and yet all these would not doe: At last, God calls here by his *Judgements*, every severall plague crying to them to repent, every severall blow speaking aloud to warne them from their evill wayes, and turne unto the Lord.

And now tell me o ye daughters of *Jerusalem*, what could God doe more to his Vineyard than he hath not done?

If any convinc'd of the truth of this

Demand now, and desire to know what should be the reason why God usually takes this gentle course with his rebellious and stiff-necked people, that *four*, (midst many more) may abundantly satisfie.

1 That thereby the goodness and mercie of God might be de-

declared to all the world, how slow he is to wrath, how ready to forgive, and how loath to punish, that as *Tamberlane* going to besiege a City, first hung out a white flag, in token that if they would surrender, there was hopes of mercie for them, if that would not serve, next day a red flag, after a black, to tell them, blood and ruine must be their portion, if they neglected so fair a warning. So doth God likewise, many white flags of mercie, many red flags of blood, many black of destruction and desolation doth God hang out, before he utterly destroys a Kingdome or people.

They that intend Ruine presently, give no warning; why is a man warn'd but in mercy that he may take heed? *If this Nation will not turn, (saith God) I will whet my sword, and bend my bow;* his very whetting and bending, is, that they might take notice and so prevent him: and again, *I assault not willingly*; As a tender Father is hardly drawne to correct his childe or cast him off, so God to destroy his poore creatures.

Psal. 7. 12.

Lam. 3. 33.

There are two places wonderfull remarkable for this purpose, (*Isa. 1. 24.*) *Ah! I will ease me of mine adversaries, I will avenge me of mine enemies,* Ah! as if it came from him with regret with much griefe and unwillingnesse. But especially that of (*Hos. 11. 8, 9.*) *How shall I give thee up Ephraim, how shall I deliver thee Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah, how shall I set thee as Zebon? my heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together, and yet 9. I will not execute the fiercenesse of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim for I am God and not man, the holy one in the midst of thee.*

Was there ever such expressions? such yerning of the bowels in a tender Nurse or Mother as here are?

Nay in this very particular Call of God to this Nation, in these words, there are three things observable, every one magnifying the goodnesse of God exceedingly.

1. *I domini punitorum primus, vocat ad penitentiam*, he's first in his Call, A man would think it were farte more fit, they should Call first, and call again, and again upon him, but

Maschus.

contrary to all Reason, He who is provok't who is about
to strike, first calls on them.

2 Not once but often, by Spirit, Word, Mercies, Judgments, nay, before and now too, still warning.

3 Not onely before and now at this time, *sed in illo ipso die, in ultimo die*, b (as one says) in that very day, the last day warns still, never gives over so long as there's hopes, never ceases till there was no c Remedy.

All these wonderfully magnifie the goodnesse and forbearance of God.

2 To Melt the hearts of the sonnes of men, when they shall once reflect upon themselves, and think, What has God call'd so many times? so many ways? and yet I stop mine eares? these thirty, forty, fifty yeares has God beene calling upon mee, by his Spirit, Word, Mercies, Judgments, and with nothing melt this hard heart of mine? Ah erubescere pulvis & cinis (as Bernard passionately) blush blush sinfull dust and ashes, And thus think with thy self: God might have cut me off in the very act of my uncleanness (if it had pleased him) as he did *Zimry* and *Cosby*, and yet how many acts have I committed? God might have stopt my mouth for ever, with the Oath and blasphemy in it, as he did *Pharoah*, *Zenacherib*, *Herod* and others. He might have struck me dead when I was last drunk, as *Nabal*, *Holifernes*, &c. or cut me off in the midst of my rebellion and wickednesse as he did *Pharoah*, *Abraham*, *Corah* and his company. Well I see God hath not dealt with me as with others, nor rewarded me as I deserved, O melt, melt thou hard heart of mine, for this is that which God expects of thee.

3 To stop the mouths of all gainfayers whatsoever, should God destroy without call or warning at all, men might have something to plead, (though nothing justly gainst God) but some would be ready to complain and say, had God spared me but once or twike, I had never done the like again, If I had but had the least warning, I would never have gone on so far as I did, &c. Well, (rebellious sinner) thou shalt never say, but God hath warned thee again and again, by mercies

Musculus.

b In illa ipsa die, qua impleta erat & matura illorum iniquitas, tempusque aterat in illi Judicii, & applicat de impenitentibus sumendum. Musculus in loc.

c 2 Chro. 36. 16 Bernard.

cies and judgements, and many ways else, and that thus many years together: Thou shalt never say, that God tooke thee at an *advantage*, therefore stop thy mouth, and give God the glory *perdisio tua ex te*, thou hast sinned, and the Lord is righteous.

4 For the *Salvation* of his poore creatures, *Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittit Jupiter, &c.* If God should smite as oft, as soone as man sins, no flesh were able to stand in his presence: *If this Lord were extreme to marke what is done amiss, who then were able to abide it?* But God does not strike so soone, is not so extreame, why? that men might be converted and turne to him, for as *I live saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner*, the salvation of one is more to me then the subversion of thousands.

Psal. 130 3.

Ezek. 33 11.

I need not insist long hereon, the best way will be to bring it close home unto our selves.

1 By entring into our hearts, and considering with your selves, whether God hath not cal'd us thus, yea, or no. To omit those many overtures of peace, of mercie, of reformation, and the like, God hath made to this sinfull Land, like so many tokens from the *Spirit of God*. I dare appeale even to the consciences of you that heare me this day, whether you have not heard Gods first *Call* many times within your bosoms? It may be in the morning ere the day was light, as soon as ever thou wast awake, whispering in thine eare, this or some such sweet invitall, *Return, return, o Shulamite, I say, return, return*: it may be at midnight, *when deep sleep falls upon the sons of men*, checking thee for the sins of the former day, warning thee of thy evill wayes, moving thee to repentance, cheering thee with hopes of mercie. I am perswaded heres not one present, but at one time or other, may remember and say, thus and thus God hath cal'd me, such a day I could not be quiet, my heart spake so within me, and bad me leave my sinfull courses, such a night when I lay waking, the rowlings on my bed were not more then the rowling of my bowels, such pangs and *motions*, I had in me, well, God did call me then.

Use.

Cant 6.13.

And as for *Mercies*, o what *Nation* under Heaven, has e-

Gen. 49. 25.

yer had those strange deliverances, those wonderfull preservations, such abundance of mercies, such plenty of blessings, as we have had? Blessings of Heaven above, blessings of the deep that lyeth underneath, blessings of the breasts, and of the wombe? So that what was prophesied of Joseph, has truly proved Englands portion. The blessings of our Fathers have prevailed shooe the blessings of our Progenitors unto the very most bounds of the everlasting hills, they have bene upon the head of England, and upon the crown of the head of them, that are separate from their brethren. That strange preservation in Eighty Eighth, That never to be forgotten Gun-powder Treason, I hope are fresh in your memories still, and shall be in your Childrens after you. The day would fail me, to recount other your preservations from civill Wars so oft, from Plague, Famine, from Enemies, from the worst of all, Popish Superstition and Idolatry: To tell you of the long Peace, Plenty, and Abundance, of all the good Mercies of God, Spiritual, and Temporal, we have enjoy'd, above all our neighbours round about us: None can deny all this.

3

Nor has he been unanswerable in his other Call, by his Word and Ordinances, O how many yeeres now together has that silver Trumpet of his Gospel, never bene still? How long have Arons Bels sounded lowd in our eares? how long have we been blest with as able, learned, powerfull a Ministry as ever Nation did enjoy? Midst all the rottenesse and corruptions of the Times, yet still have wee had some that stood close to God and to his Truth, that like Fish tasted the sweeter, and fresher, in those brackish streames, and like Cananite trodden down, yielded a more fragrant smell; I dare challenge all the world to equall us in this Call, such plenty and abundance of preaching, as I am confident, no Nation under heaven ever enjoy'd the like.

4

Nay (lastly) this not doing, has not God endeavoured to reduce us by his last Call frequent Judgments and plagues amongst us? How oft has hee sent all his three sore judgments? his flagella aculeata, amongst us in a dreadfull manner? to say nothing of the Famine, scarcity and want

has

has been in the Countrey, and in divers Families; what hard shifts many have made, (yea, and in this City too) to preserve their lives with *that*, which was scarce meat for Hogs, much lesse for men? *Grains* having beene their daily food for them and their children, and that for diverse weeks together, and glad they could get them. How many have died for want of bread? how many have been starved and fallen down dead (I am sorry I can say one within these few days) even at some of your doores, in the middle of your streets?

How ever, (I hope) you have not yet forgot, how oft and lowd, God has call'd by the *Plague* formerly and of late, what heaps upon heaps, heaps upon heaps, God has laid even in the midst of this royall City: how hee has spoke unto you (it may be by the mouthes of your neere friends) Stand off, come not *neer me*, *I am infected* (with the Leper in the old Law) *I am unclean*, *I am unclean*.

And both *formerly*, by all those broils in the Barons Wars, in the sad divisions twixt Yorke and Lancaster, and *of late*, how lowd hath God call'd unto us by the sword, in these bloody, unnaturall, civill, uncivill war, *both in England and Ireland*, every *Shreeke* of chaste virgins ravish'd first, and murdered after: every *Tell* of poore infants stab'd or thrown out to starve and die: every *Cry* of aged men and women flying for their lives: every *Sigh* of poore wives, that have lost their husbands: every *Sab* of aged parents, that are rob'd of their children, every *Groane* of so many bleeding dying men, every one of these, and thousands more (the sad issues of our sad divisions) are like so many mouths & voices from God, calling to, and telling us that he is angry.

Well, deny none can, but that God has call'd by all these, if any doubt, I'll answer him no other wise, then as *death* in the fable answered him, whom it promised to give *warning* to before hand, and yet tooke him away suddenly, being challenged of breach of promise, answered, it did give him warning: For, do you not remember you had an *Angel* so many *years* ago? I gave you warning then: a *fall off* Prayer another time? I gave you warning then: a fall off

your horse another time? I warned you then : such a time you lost a child? I warned you then, &c. none can deny, but many of these ways God hath warned us all. There's no question of that.

Onely, here's the *Question*, how have wee attended to these calls? O my soule trembles within me, to thinke how many soft *breathings*, how many sweet motions, how many puttings forward of our spirits to good, we have contemned, despised, or at the least neglected. Dost thou not remember how such a time, through the working of thy *bowels* within thee, thou wast resolved to leave thy sinfull courses, to turne unto the Lord and amend thy wayes, and yet to this day not amended, but as bad as ever.

And surely it will be one of the *sadest Meditations* in hell, when a damned soule shall recall all the good motions and resolutions it formerly had, such a time upon my sick bead, how I vowed if God would spare me, what a convert would I be, and yet (restored to health again) how I fell to be as bad as ever I was before : how another time in a great *danger*, another time at a communion, at a funerall, at a fast another time : Oh ! how was I stung with such a Sermon? how home did the Preacher come to my very heart and inwards? what resolutions then did I make with my selfe, to live thus and thus, *Quantillum absui*? O had I but turned to God then (I was very neare it) how happy a creature had I been? how had I escaped these eternall flames? but I would not, I neglected that call, and therefore now too late, too late God knows doe I bewail mine own folly, and this unavoi-deable misery is come upon me,

And for *Mercies* may not God justly upbraid us as he did the Cities in the Gospel, *Wo unto thee Corazin, wo unto thee Bethsaida, for if the mighty worker which were done in you had beene done in Tyre and Sidon.*---

So if the great things that have beene done in *England*, had beene done in *Tyre and Sydon* in *Turky* or *India*, in all probability, they would have repented long agoe in *Sack-cloth* and *ashes*.

εἶπεν γὰρ
ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποσθῶμεν; καὶ
μυρίαυς βυλ-
δῶμεν, ὡς δὲ
παραῖμας,
πλῆον,
Chr, soft. hom.
Matth. 11. 20,
21.

Certainly never Nation hath been more blessed, yet never Nation more unthankfull. O how oft have we *Surfatted* of the good mercies of God, till (like *Quales* with the *Israelites*) they have come out of our very nostrils; not onely surfet of meat and drinke, and other the good creatures of God, but surfet of our ease, of our plenty, of our abundance, of our strength, nay, of our very peace, for which now, God hath justly taken it away from us.

There was a time, (many yeares ago.) when we longed for war, our fingers itcht to be fightin^g, conceiving it would conduce more to our plenty and abundance then a dull retirement, and now God hath given us enough of the former, but an abatement, God knows of the later.

Nay, are there not some still, who are *sick* at the very naming of *peace*, who would fain have the Wars continue, whose onely delight it is like *Salamanders*, to live in the fire of contention, and fish in troubled waters? *Sommes of the perverse foolish & woman*, Jarrs and dissentions, whose glory it is to spill that bloud upon the ground which cost their Saviour his.

And for the *Word* of God, how hath it been discountenanced, scorned, contemned, despised? was there not a time (and not long since) when to say a man was a laborious, constant, conscientious Preacher, was enough to hinder him from rising, (as we used to say) or all preferment?

And now that our Church doores are open, that there is aundance of such excellent means, and freedom every where; What meanes these creepings into corners these frequent conventicles of so many *Schismatikes* and *Selfaries*? grown now so numerous, (through to too long connivance) that they doe not onely threaten the overthrow of true Religion, subversion of faith and good manners, destruction of all Order, Discipline, and Charity, but threaten many Godly and Orthodox Divines, threaten the Assembly, threaten the Parliament, nay, threaten both you, and the Government you shall establish if not according to their fancies, while one professes himselfe for *Park*, another for *Apollo*, a third for *Caphas*;

d Αἰσῶπ, ἀδύ-
μυς & ἀγῆσι
ἔστιν ἰατρὸς
Ὁς πολλὰ
ἔραται ἰατρί-
ῃς καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
ἰατρός.
In sociabilis, scilicet
privatus
homo est ille qui
bellum annis in
populo mortife-
rum, Homer. in
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your horse another time? I warned you, then : such a time you lost a childe? I warned you then, &c. none can deny, but many of these ways God hath warned us all. There's no question of that.

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And ſurely it will be one of the *ſadeſt Meditations* in hell, when a damned ſoule ſhall recall all the good motions and reſolutions it formerly had, ſuch a time upon my ſick bead, how I vowed if God would ſpare me, what a convert would I be, and yet (reſtored to health again) how I fell to be as bad as ever I was before : how another time in a great *danger*, another time at a communion, at a funerall, at a ſaſt another time : Oh ! how was I ſtung with ſuch a Sermon ? how home did the Preacher come to my very heart and inwards ? what reſolutions then did I make with myſelfe, to live thus and thus, *Quantillum abſui* ? O had I but turned to God then (I was very neare it) how happy a creature had I been ? how had I eſcaped theſe eternall flames ? but I would not, I neglected that call, and therefore now too late, too late : God knows doe I bewail mine own folly, and this unavoideable miſery is come upon me,

And for *Mercies* may not God juſtly upbraid us as he did the Cities in the Goſpel, *Wo unto thee Corazin, wo unto thee Bethſaida, for if the mighty wonders which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon,---*

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And now that our Church doores are open, that there is abundance of such excellent means, and freedom every where; What meanes these creepings into corners these frequent conventicles of so many *Schismatikes* and *Selfaries*? grown now so numerous, (through to too long connivance) that they doe not onely threaten the overthrow of true Religion, subversion of faith and good manners, destruction of all Order, Discipline, and Charity, but threaten many Godly and Orthodox Divines, threaten the Assembly, threaten the Parliament, nay, threaten both you, and the Government you shall establish if not according to their fancies, while one professes himselfe for *Park*, another for *Apollo*, a third for *Caphas*;

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μης ἀνέσι-
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τ-
Inferiabilis, scilicet
privatus
bomae illi qui
bellum amat in
populo mortife-
rum. Homer. in
a Iliad.

and few, very few (God knows) truly and sincerely for Christ and his Gospel.

And of those that doe attend our publike Ordinances, how many itching eares have we amongst them? let a Minister preach the truth of God, as clearly and plainly as any, yet if hee be not of their humour, if not just of their opinion, (as the people in the *Acts* 22, 22.) so cry they out, *Away with him, it is not fit such a fellow should live*; at least live to have any fellowship or communion with them.

Al! good Lord! how glad would the poore Protestants in Queen *Maries* dayes have been of one of those Sermons which we so much pish at, and neglect every day? How glad would the poore *Indians* in *America* and elsewhere be (if it should please God once to open their eyes) but to gather up the crumbs that fall from under our Table?

Nay, take the *best*, and most constant hearers, and compare their *practice* with it, I am affraid it would be found far short: so quick and forward are many to heare, but slow, very slow (God knows) are we all to practise, never remembering that fearful sentence of our Saviours, *Luke* 12. 48. *To Whom much is given of him shall much be required, and He that knows his Masters will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.*

Yea, (God be mercifull to us all in this one thing) how may each one here present, lay his hand upon his breast and say with himselfe, How many good *Sermons* have I lost? How many heavenly lessons have I forgot? How many whole some exhortations have I slighted? How many blessed *Calls* from God have I neglected? Then tell me whether hee have not cause to *weep and mourne*, especially when he considers withall how these and the like defects to former have for- ced God too

His *last Call*, (to wit,) those sore *indignations* and *punishments* that are amongst us.

I told you before, God called a *great way off* in the wars of the *Palatinate*, *Germany*, *Ireland*, &c. and for these some years and upwards about in *England*, but where now is the hearkning to this call?

Have

Luke 12. 47.
 c' i' su 7 ap
 me'ov n' x d-
 bis, totu to
 w'lon n' k'lon n'
 g'at' p' v'at'a
 am'at' d'v'at'
 Chrysost.

Have we not those are as deafe at their Countreys miseries; as if it never concerned them? or as if there were no wars in England? I would to God the security, muttering, and unthankfulnesse in the Countrey; the gluttony, drunkennesse, riot and excesse, both in meat, drinke, and apparell here in the City, did not too manifestly proclame to every mans face, how little men are grieved for the afflictions of Joseph & how little they lay to heart the sufferings of their brethren in other parts, and how little apprehensive they are of their calamities.

I would onely desire such whoever they be, that they would often meditate of that Cup of trembling mentioned by the Prophet *Isaiah* (53. 17.) and threatened more penitentially by the Prophet *David* (*Psal.* 75. 8.) *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red, it is full of mixture, and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth, shall wring them out, and drinke them.*

Such a Cup we cannot but take notice of, that God hath hold out for these divers years together, and the wine hath been red, even as red as blood; yea, and it hath been full of mixture too, firing, burning, plundering, spoyling, ransacking, undoing, &c. have beene the sad ingredients in this mixture; nay, and God hath poured it out too, upon many parts of this Kingdome, and yet we here, (and divers other places besides) as secure, as carelesse, and uncompassionate as ever.

I say no more but onely this, other parts in the Countrey have drunke deepe of the Cup, I pray God *London*, and these hereabouts, be never forced to drinke of the dregs.

Let it teach us all in the feare of God to admire and stand astonished at the forbearance and loving kindnesse of the Lord our God, *Tam pius nemo, tam pater nemo* never so good a God, never so loving and indulgent a Father, that will by no means destroy till he have cald and give warning, and waits for the conversion of poore sinners.

I would to God (mean-while) men would but learne here of God to be more milde, more compassionate and mercifull one to another. What means this rancour? this malice? this

ha-

*Quis dicit illam
nihil nullam ani-
mam tangit as-
sestina, stuporem
sanctum, qui
nulla prorsus e-
rigatur & exci-
tetur, nullo ste-
clatur atque in-
civetur affectu
non omnibus tra-
tis indicat esse
penam? Ang.
Ci. Dei. 1. 14. c. 9
& Si frater es
compitere fratri
pro te patienti,
compunitus pro
eo qui pro te
prior punitus
est, si non dolo-
lugis, plangis;
dolores, dissipia
bellum sapias,
&c. Bern. in
Psal. 90.
h. Soli filii Iro-
Iram non sen-
tiunt nec tri-
stunt de rebus
bus. Bern. E-
pist. 196.*

2^d Use.

*i Non quia du-
rum aliquid
ideoretum, aut
quia stupidum
est, ideo sanum.
Aug. Civ. Dei.*

3^d Use.

*Dolenda intueri
nec dolere mor-
tis est signum.
Bern.*

k Ferme acer-
rima proximo-
rum odia sunt.
Tacitus.

Dilectio sola
discernit inter fi-
lios Dei & filios
Diaboli. Aug. in
1 Ioh. Tract. 5.

חַיִּים וְחַיִּים
פְּאִלְיָהוּ רַבִּי
חִיָּיָהוּ.
Greg. Naz.

Vbi odium ibi
charitas esse non
potest, ubi cha-
ritas abest, ibi
nil boni. Aug.
super Matth.
Vitam animæ
qualibet culpa
polluit, servatus
vero dolor con-
tra proximum
occidit, menti-
mamque ut gla-
dius figitur, &
mucrone illius,
ipsa viscerum
occulta perso-
rantur. Greg.

1. 10. Mor.
In formidulo-
sa sentential
Si parva fratri-
bus non dimitti-
mus, magna no-
bis à Deo, non
dimittentur.
Hieron. 13.
super Matth.

hatred and uncharitableness one towards another k was
there ever such heart-burnings l such hardheartedness, such
unsatiable thirst, of ruining and destroying one another,
without call without mercie? Suppose God should but so
deale with us, and take us at an advantage, for a word for a
gesture, for one action many years agoe as men now adayes
seek to take others. O! what would become of the best of
us m all.

Learn, learn, I beseech you so to deale with others,
as you looke God should deale with you another
day.

And last of all in the feare of God, let me so far prevail
with you all, as to make you take heed for the future of ever
abusing these warnings, and goodness of God any more.
Take heed of *stoping thine eare*: at Gods Call, call he how, or
when he will, least God stop his eares at thine another day,
as he threatens, (*Pro. 1. 24. to the 29. ver.*) it is a sad place
and worth taking notice of. *Because I have called (saith God)*
and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man re-
garded, but ye have set at nought all my Councell, and would
none of my reproof (26) I also will laugh at your calamities, I
will mock when your feare commeth, (27) when your fear com-
meth as desolation, and your destruction commeth as a whirle-
wind, when distress and anguish commeth upon you, (28) Then
shall, they call upon me but I will not answer, they shall seek me
early, but they shall not finde me.

Si non audies vocem misericordiae, senties vocem iudicii, si
non Deum minantem senties punientem, saith Bernard. It
is as a Glosse upon this; because I call'd and you would not
heare, you shall, and I will not; and if now you will not
heare the voice of my *Mercy*, you shall ere long feele the
voice of my *Judgment*, if you will not heare God when he
threatens, you shall feel him when he punishes.

To that end (and so to conclude the second generall part
of the Text) if all this will not doe, if all these *Calls from*
God will not move thee, I desire thee (whosoever thou art)
to know that God has one Call more, besides all these, thou
never

never hearest yet, and that is *vocem Tuba*, the Call of the last Trumpet, when Christ shall come the second time in glory with thousand thousands of his Angels to judgement in the clouds, when the Trumpet shall sound and the dead shall arise, when God shall call thee out of the dust, to appeare before his Judgment seat, and there to give an account to him, as of the neglects, so much more of the contempt of all his former Calls: by his Spirit, Mercies, Words, Judgments, &c. You that are High and Noble, in great places and trust in this our Israel, who have called so many to your bar, & summoned them before you. Remember withall I beseech you, that there is another Summons, coming out for you too, and you must all be cald to another Bar, to give an account, as of the Trust imposed in you so of all your actions and intentions. And you who have so oft given Judgement in other mens matters, remember I pray you that there is another judgement coming, (that which Saint Paul speaks of (2 Cor. 5. 10.) *We must all appeare before the Judgment seat of Christ that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.*) There as you have p scanned other mens actions, so must yours be scanned with an impartiall eye, and you rewarded accordingly; and though you have no higher Court to call you to an account here on Earth, yet remember there is one in heaven, and to that wee must all stand or fall for ever.

O think, think therefore with your selves sometimes, when you see poore malefactors, startled and frighted at your call or Summons and stand trembling at your bar, thinke I say, thus must I my selfe be singled out another day, thus must I stand trembling before the judgement seat of Christ, to give an account to him of all mine actions, towards others, and judgements here below, and then let the thought of this move thee to deale with others (I say no more) as thou lookest Christ should deale with thee, and not dare to doe or say any thing here; but what thou darrest avouch as just and right, before

Judicis tremant Angelicae potestates? Bed. Quid facient Tabulae quando ne? quomodo Virgula Deserti quatiatur, cum Cedrus Paradisi concussitur

*n Esse quoniam
satis reminiscitur
affore Tempus*

*Quo mare, quo
tellus, correpta
que regia caeli
Ardeat, &
mundi moles o-
perosa laboret.*
Ovid.

*o Potentissimi
quondam reges
modo latere pal-
pitabant, exhi-
bebatur tunc
cum prole sua
igneus Iupiter
adducitur cum
suis Plato dis-
cipulis, Aristoteli
argumenta non
proderunt,
&c. Hieron.
ad Heliodor.
p Ne minime
quidem cogita-
tiones, aut ver-
ba minus summa
indiscussa reman-
ebunt.* Greg.

*q Nec gratia
prævenitur lu-
dex, nec miseri-
cordia flebitur,
nec pecunia
corrumpitur,
nec satisfactione
mitigatur.* Aug.
*r Quid mirum
tremere homi-
nes, cum aspectu
tremunt Colum-
Greg.*

2 Co. 5. 10.

the Tribunal of the Almighty God hereafter.

I have been long about the *Call* (and yet you cannot say but God hath been longer) I pray God make both effectual to you all. I will be shorter in what remains.

III.

The *Time* of your summons follows next in order, as the third generall of the Text, and that is punctuall to a day, *In that day.*

Isa. 2.

In that day? what day is that? we read in Scripture of many dayes, a day of *Blacknesse and darknesse*, of *clouds and thick darknesse*, a day of plague and pestilence, of famine and of the sword, a day of *fasting* and afflicting the soule, of rending the garments, and lying down in the dust. Which of all these dayes is this?

Oecolamp.

Ans. Most *Expositors* hold that it was in *Abaz* his time: *Quum iam pro foribus, esset interitus, cum perspicua et manifesta Ira Dei*, When destruction and ruine was at hand, when appeared manifest tokens of the wrath of God.

But because I'll bound my selfe, my *Observations* shall be confined onely to what I finde in the first 15. verses of this Chapter, (the rest being another prophecie,) and therein you may observe *four severall days*, in all which God *Calls* sadly to the duty of *Weeping and Mourning*.

1 In the 1, 2, and 5. verses, *What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the house tops*, viz. for feare and terror, That they might bemoane their condition there: as by (*Isa. 15.*

§ Clamoris plena, Doctrina Hæreticorum quæ non in sensu, sed in multiloquio & clamore versatur.

Ob multitudinem deceptorum frequens civitas exultans propter superbiam appellatur. Hicron. in locum.

3. *Ier. 48. 38.*) may appeare was the custome, Ver. 2. *Thou art full of stirs, a tumultuous City.* & Ver. 5. *It is a day of trouble and perplexity, &c.* And all from the Lord God of Hosts, (all comes from him) therefore in the 4. ver. the Prophet cries out because of such a day, *I will weepe bitterly, labour not to comfort me, &c.*

Then here is the first day.

A day of frights and feares, of stirs and tumults, of trouble and perplexity,

When men are at their wits ends, and know not which way to turn them, when *stirs and tumults* are in a City and Nation, *trouble and perplexity* in a State and Kingdome, when
men

men are afraid to ly down in the evening, for fear of murthering in their beds, or having their houses fired about their eares: dare not goe out in the morning, for fear of being surpris'd or plundered of all before they return: when things are carried in a Tumult, as it is in a distemper'd body not reason and judgement, (those superior faculties of the soul) beare the Sway, but fancie and frenzy, making a very Bedlam within ones own bosome.

When a man is not sure of his house, of his estate, of his life of any thing, but all is as a rude multitude will, whensoever thou see'st such a day, then know this is the time wherein God calls.

And give me leave to apply particulars as I goe along.

Shall I aske you whether your eyes ever beheld such a day or no? the more happy you if you have not: God helpe those parts of the Kingdome that have seen no other day for above these foure years together, whose eares are continually fill'd with the noise of the drum, and found of the Trumpet: frighted with feares and alarmes, whose eyes have beheld such stirs and tumults as their forefathers never saw, *stirs* in the City, *stirs* in the Countrey, *stirs* in the Church, *stirs* in the State, *stirs* at home, and *stirs* abroad, every where almost Tumults and *stirs*.

Vide Hierou.
in locum, &c.

And for Troubles and perplexities. shew mee that place, or almost that person who thorow the whole Kingdome, is free from these; King troubled, Parliament troubled, City troubled, Assembly troubled, all the whole Kingdome troubled out of measure.

Go into the Army: there you may heare the Souldiery troubled for want of pay, and by reason of other divisions and discontents among them, into the City, all troubled for want of Trade; into the Church, men troubled for want of Discipline and good Government; and in the Countrey a thousand troubles and perplexities there: Heer's one complains he's plundred of all, there another he's turn'd out of all, and that wrongfully and unjustly, as he conceives, or heer's some complain of their heavy Taxes and Billings, that they

*Quem tranquillum quæso,
quem non laboriosum aut anxium diem egimus? Petrarch.*

*Si in forum iveris ibi rixæ,
Et pugne, si in curiam adulatio, si in domum privatam, &c.
Chrylo.*

x Nemini mortalium iniurie sue parve videntur. Salust.

have not bread left for them and their children : there others of wrongs and oppressions from some *Committees*, and the insolence of *Under-Officers* (how justly, God knows) but this I'm sure, their's such a lowd City of this trouble and perplexity, almost every-where, as (if things be true) cries to Heaven for vengeance against those, who abuse your *Authority* and *good intentions*, for their own ends, well worth your notice, and looking after : A day of troubles and perplexities you see it is every-where.

And now what doth God call for in this day, but for *Weeping and Mourning*, to weep y for the *stirs* and distempers in thine own bosome, which cause these broils and stirs without. To be troubled for thy sins in thy soule, which have caus'd these troubles in the State : to mourn for offending thy good God, which has caus'd these offences and perplexities abroad. In a word to weep and mourn, that thou art the *Achan* that hast troubled Israel, and by thy sins and rebellions, brought these troubles and perplexities upon the Kingdome.

This is the first day.

II The second day you may read of in the 4, 5, 6, and 7 verse, verse 4, *because of the spoyling &c.* verse 5, *A day of treading down, breaking down the walls, crying to the mountains,* v. 6. *Elam bare the quiver, with chariots of men and horsemen, and Kir uncovered the shield.* v 7. *Thy choicest Valleys shall be full of chariots, and the horsemen shall set themselves in Aray at the gate.*

So then the second day is

A day of spoyling and treading down, of breaking down walls, of chariots and horsemen, of shields and Aray,

In a word, *A day of War, and the sad consequences thereof.*

When former stirs and tumults breake out into open rage of robing and spoyling, of treading down all, 2 when *Horsemen and Troopers*, take not whats their own, but what they please, when no man can say, his cattle are his own, his house is his own, his lands his own, his wife his own, his life his own, but all at the mercie of boisterous and cruell men.

In

Super peccata diluit argentea felicitatis conforis in eternum merit. Aug. Idem mirac. S. S. Interdum la-chrymae pondere vocis habent. Ovid.

Qualis per arva Leo, fulvum minaci fronte concutit ens. Iubam. Sen. Trag.

In a word, when all is filled with Souldiers and Armies, with wars and fightings, and what ever are the sad concomitants, of rage, fury, and division. *This is the other day.*

And would you have me *apply it*, I confesse should you command me to doe it with mine eyes, I could doe it better then with my *Tongue*, or did you bid me write the *parallel* with my *teares*, I could doe it far sooner then with *inke*, while my poore Countrey engraves it deepe in *characters* of bloud,

Ah! poore *England*! not long since thy foes envye and admiration, now the heave object of thy friends pittie and enemies scorne. *Shee that was great among the Nations, and Princes among the people, how is shee now become solitary as a widdow robed of her children?* and why? *Because the Lord hath covered the daughoe of Zion with a cloud in his anger, hath cast down the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger: but hath kindled a fire in this our Zion, and it hath almost devoured the inhabitants thereof.*

Lam. 2. 1.

4. 11.

O blessed God! How hast thou broken us with breach upon breach, and yet our hearts are not broken; we complain of violence and wrong, and yet our lives are full of both, thou hast afflicted us, and we have not received instruction, *Thou hast wounded us and there is no healing for us.* Spoyling and treading down, cries and bitter lamentation, father against sonne, and sonne against father, brother against brother, and friend against friend, plundering and murders, rapine and villanies, cruelties and barbarisme, are spread every where up and down our coasts, and yet we are not humbled.

Ier. 14. 9.

Tell me all you that passe by, who have been abroad and seen goodly Churches ruined and laid wast, Gods ordinances and Ministers abused, whole *Towns* plundered over and over, and utterly undone, a goodly houses, nay whole streets, all on a flaming fire: You who have seen on your right hands thousands of poor stript men, women, and children flying for their lives: on the left, thousands naked lie sprawling upon the ground, some dead, some gasping, some groaning out their last: Here one shot all in pieces, joynt from joynt, and limbe from limbe, there another nothing but wounds, and mangled all

a Hæc sunt bel-
li decora, pro-
fuisse nemini
nocuisse quam-
plurimis, &c.
Erasmus.

over, there a third weltering in his own gore. You who have seen young *Infants* snatcht from their mothers breasts and brains dash'd against the stones, *Wives* ravish'd before their husbands eyes after husbands slain before theirs. You who have heard the strikes and cries of women and children, and seen hundreds tumbled head-long into ponds and rivers, some sprawling out, knockt down again, without pity or compassion, without respect either of sex or age, of young or old b.

b *Armanon*
servant modum
nec temperari
facile nec reprimi
potest *Stricta*
causa ira: Bella
delectia: cruor.
Seneca in
Herc. fut.
Trag. I.

You that have seen these and a thousand villanies more, say, say, whither this black day hath not befallen us, or at best, a very gloomy morn, God in his mercie send us a cleerer day.

And now in this day especially doth God justly call for weeping and mourning, thereby to bemoene those jars and oppositions, have been against grace and goodness, which have caused these oppositions one against another: to bewail those disorders in thine affections, which have made these disorders in the Common-weal those jars within, which have caused these without. Every distemper, every cruelty, every outrage and vilany thou seest or hearest of, is a severall call from God, to humble thee and make thee (with *Jab.*) *abhor thy selfe in dust and ashes.* And that's a second day.

Iob 42. 6.

III.

The third day is a day of *humane confidence* and presumption, Verse 8, 9, 10, 11, Ver. 8. *Thou didst look in that day to the armour of the house of the Forest (Verse 9.) Ye have seen also the breaches of the City of David, that they are many, and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool, (ver. 10.) And ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses have ye broken down to fortifie the wall (ver. 11.) Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pools. All hitherto is good, lawfull, and carefully done, but what follows in the latter end of the 11. ver. But ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that had fashioned it long agoe: Heers their fault, for men to prepare and fortifie and strengthen themselves all is very good and expedient but so to trust in these, as to neglect God and wave him, so to look down upon the earth, as not withall to look up to heaven, so to be busied and to rely upon the arm of flesh, as not at all and*

and principally to look up unto God, here was their fault, and therefore immediately upon it, cries out the Prophet in the words of my Text. *In that day, in that day of all others*, most cause to call to weeping and mourning, when the creature is trusted, and the Creator neglected.

And tell me (my beloved) is not this our day? Was there ever more looking to armes, breaches, waters, fortifyings and the like? and all exceeding good and necessary. But the question is, Have we, have not *rested* heer? in the means? in the outward provision? and strength, and never looked to God the *Maker* of it? Have we not *trusted* in our Armies? boasted in the multitude of our Hosts? been confident of our strength? prided our selves in assurance of victory? never looking up to the Lord of Hosts all this while, till God has brought us down, and made us see, and know, that th^e o^g great Armies go forth, and expectation be raised, *Horses prepared for the day of battell, & yet the successe is of the Lord?* And tell me (I beseech you) when had we ever *worse* success, than when we were most *confident*, when better than when most *dissident* of our selves, and relied only upon God.

And give me leave (I beseech you) to deal freely with you I was not call'd hither to flatter, (with *Elisha* in *Job* 32.22. *I know not how to give flattering titles unto man, for in so doing my Maker would soon take me away*) I am afraid, I say, much afraid, that too much of this untoward Weed, grows in all our gardens: too much *confidence* upon the meanes and probabilities, upon strength and policie, upon great preparations, and our own endevours: and if so, then in this day God calls to *weeping and to Mourning*, npt to prevent weeping after miscarriages when it is too late. This this alone not taken heed of, will soile all your Armies, break your Navies, marre your Treaty, spoile all your designs. Use all lawfull means in Gods Name, but do *not* trust to any, only to the Lord, in whose hands are the *issues of life* and death, of Warre and Peace.

The fourth day is found in the thirteenth Verse, *Behold, say and gladsly, slaying Oxen, and killing Sheepe, eating flesh,*
and

Prov. 22.31.

c Obama ideo non viristi quia de tuo presumptisti, qui praesumptus de vicibus suis antequam pugnet proferuntur. Aug. de rebus Apost. d Multos impedit a firmitate, presumptio firmitatis. Nemo est a Deo firmus nisi qui a se ipso sentit se infirmum. Aug. de V. Dom. c. 14.

IIII.

and drinking wine, Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.

c OI τανεισό-
σπορες χαλιδί-
γενες. Clem.
Alex.

Humilis & ab-
iecti animi,
Terre plane si-
lii.

f Canine equa-
ri mitatis stupor
Tertul.

g Membra pu-
trida & mortua
que sensum non
habent, Tales
sunt Christiani
qui de alienis
aut afflictioni-
bus non dolent.
Aug. in Psal.
130.

h τὸν ἐφήμερον
δρακόντες βίον
αἱ οὐκ ἔσονται
οἱ, qui vident
in dies perse-
quuntur perinde
ac non victuri.
Clem Alex.

IIII.

A day of joy and gladness, eating and drinking, prophane-
ness and profuseness.

When midst all the judgements of God, men are secure
and *careless*, serving their lusts and pleasures, c midst all
the tossings of the *Ship* of the Common-wealth, are asleepe
upon the *Mast-top*, not awak't with all the waves and bil-
lows that roare and swell round about f them.

This is a sad day indeed, wherein no light appears, not of
grace or goodness, but not so much as of sense or apprehensi-
on, g and yet is not this day with us? have we not those, are
as gluttonous and riotous, as drunk and intemperate as ever?
midst all the heavy judgments of God upon this Land? heed
nothing, regard nothing, eat drink and are all merry (I would
to God you would take speciall notice of these) h To such I
say no mote, but what follows in the next words, ver. 14.
*And it was revealed to me in mine eare by the Lord God of
Hosts, surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you, till ye
die, saith the Lord God of Hosts.*

Mean while, *This is the day*, wherein God calls for sad
thoughts, and deepe expressions of griefe, to counterpoise that
exuberant excess of joy, that is in others, that so, if it be possi-
ble the noise of our sighs and teares may ou-terry their sins,
and divert an heauey judgement from us.

I doubt I have held you too long in the description of this
darke winters day.

There is nothing now behinde, but the *fourth* generall part
of the Text, the subject matter whereunto you are called, to
weeping, mourning, baldness, and girding with sack-cloth,
which because I will not be tedious, I will onely tell you what
it is, giving you the *Theory* of it, and leave you unto the
practick. Here are you see 4 particulars.

All the difficulty lies in the *explication of them*, the two for-
mer need none at all, every one apprehending what is meant
by *Weeping and Mourning*, to wit, outward expressions of
that griefe and sorrow uttered by the eyes, voice and tongue,
the

the root whereof lies hid in the heart and soule within.

All the Question is, what is meant by the two latter, *Baldnesse and Sack-cloth.*

I For *Baldnesse*, *ad rasuram* most read it, to such a baldnesse as was made on purpose by shaving of the haire of their heads, and sometimes beard, it being the custom among the Ancients, especially in those Eastern Countreys, upon some great humiliation, to shave of their haire, to cut off that excitement wherein so much pride is taken, the better to make themselves ashamed, and contemptible before men, that so their thoughts and hearts might be answerable, and they ashamed of themselves in the sight of God: So *Ezra. 9. 3.* (*When the people had sinned in mingling themselves with heathen*) *I rent my garments and mantle, and plucked off the hair off my head, and beard, and sat down astonished.* So *Job 1. 20.* having lost all that ever he had *rent his mantle and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground,* and this they used (not as the Popish Priests now adays for distinction of their Orders, and intimation of some strange mysteries I know not what) but an high expression of their humiliation to make themselves ashamed for the evill either they had done, or did befall them.

i Hæc eo tempore in usu erant Judæis quum pœnitentiam præstabantur. Calv. in loc.

And however it was *unlawfull* to doe it for the dead, (as *Jer. 16. 6.*) because there was no hopes (as one sayes) yet in publike calamities, where there was hopes of better upon their humiliation, they were commanded this as an high expression of it, (as *Mica. 1. 16.*) *Make thee bald and poller thee, for thy delicate children: enlarge thy baldnesse, as the eagle: for they are gone into captivity from thee.*

This is the first, and for *Sack-cloth*, nothing more frequently mentioned in Scripture. *David, (Psal. 35. 13)* *When they were sick I put on sack-cloth.* *Jonah 3. 6.* *the King of Nineveh put on Sack-cloth.* *Ester 4. 1.* *Mordicai put on sack-cloth.* *1 King 21. 27.* *Ahab put on Sack-cloth.* Thereby to imitate likewise their dejection and humiliation, counting the roughest garment too good to cover that body that had been the instrument of so much sin, and deserved such a judgment. So then take all together, and they make up a full and ample

k Signa quidem sola non sufficient, nam conversio à corde nullam habet, non quod signa repudiare velit; sed canon sufficere, nec Deo per se grata esse ostendebat. Calvin. in loc.

l Non ergo penitentiam sacco aut cilicio, aut ulla re externa sed in animo consistit. Quos vero repenitet, y displicent sibi, peccatum odierunt, & tam acri doloris sensu puniuntur, ut seipsos & anteaclam vitam exhorreant Calvin. ibid.

m Sed cum hoc fieri non potest, quia simul in confessionem erumpant coram hominibus, ideo Patet signa exteriora nominat, quibus conversionem nostram testamur, &c. Idem & ibid.

n Significat ipsos ad penitentiam vocatos esse ut coram Deo sese deprecarent, & penitentiae signa praeberent coram hominibus. Idem.

Expression of a generall humiliation. For the eyes heres *Weeping*, for the heart heres *Mourning*, for the head heres *Baldness*, and for the loines and whole body heres *Sack-cloth*, intimating thereby that *Humiliation must be universall*, over all the parts: not the eyes weepe and heart laign, or the heart sob, and the head devise mischief, the head bare, and therest of the body covered with pride & vanity, but it must be in all.

And yet this is not all; as the Prophet *Isaiab* saith (58.9.) *Is it to bow his head as a bulrush, to spread sack-cloth and ashes under him, wilt thou call this a fast, or an acceptable day unto the Lord?*

Nothing less *Signa quidem sola non sufficient* (saith Calvin) outward shews will not serve the turn, and again, *Penitentia non in sacco aut cilicio, &c.* Repentance does not consist in sackcloth, or such like outward things, but inwardly in the soule, They who truly repent (saith hee) are displeased with themselves, and their former evill ways. *Sed cum hoc fieri non potest, &c.* yet since this cannot be done, without some expressions likewise before men, therefore the Prophet names those outward signes only, whereby we testifie our humiliation unto others, these being *Symbola & effectus penitentia non vera penitentia*, Signes and effects of repentance, not repentance it self?

So that in a word hereby is meant *the whole dutie of repentance*, exprest only by these outward signes, not as if therein it did consist, but as whereby it most manifests and declares it self unto others; n for howsoever its true, there may be these, and yet no true repentance within (an Hypocrite being able to go as far in outwards as any righteous whatsoever yet whensoever their is true: Repentance within, it will shew it self in these at one time or other.

And God rather *pitches* upon these for mens sake, that they may be Witnesses of this repentance and humiliation. For if there be no expressions without, its true that man may have a good heart within, I am not to condemne him, but I have

just

just cause to suspect him, - On the contrary, if I see another that does express a great deal of sorrow by *teares* and *mourning*, &c. 'tis possible that mans heart, may be nought, but I must take heed how I judge it to be so, I not being able to look into the heart, but only to judge by outward signes. --- And for his inwards, I must leave him to another, even to his own judge, to whom he must stand or fall.

This may be sufficient for *explication*, Time will not give me leave to enlarge my selfe, I'll only name *two* particulars (which might be insisted on) and so draw towards a conclusion.

I Hereby it appears, that upon a sad and serious occasion, It is lawfull to express the dejection of our souls by outward expressions of our body, as Weeping and Mourning, &c.

But always with this caution. that this be not all, or that we do not content and please our selves, with outwards only, o if so heare, what the Prophet *Isay* saith, (1-11, 12, 13, 14.) To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto mee, saith the Lord? I am full of the burnt offerings of Rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the bloud of buttocks, or of lambs or of hee-goats. 12 When you come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my Courts? 13 Bring no more vain oblations incense is an abomination unto me, the new-moones and Sabbath, the calling of Assemblies, I cannot away with, even the solemn meeting. 14 your new-moones and your appointed feasts my soule hateth, they are a trouble unto me, I am weary to beare them, &c.

Strange! most of these were such things as God himselfe had commanded, and yet because they contented themselves, (as the Papists now, in opere operato) in the deed done, in the outward performance, and their lives were not answerable (as follows afterward) therefore doth God say, his soule hateth them.

So with us, to what purpose is it to fast? if not from sin; to weep? if not unto repentance; to mourne? if not unto amendment; to have the head bare, and not the heart? to have sack-cloth without, and pride within? this is but a

o Non loquitur
Vates de hypo-
critico Calentio
& amictu sacci
(quibus & re-
probi absque
penitentia non
inter Judæos
tantum, sed inter
Christianos eti-
am in speciem
uni solent) sed
de veris veræ
reipiscen-
tiae indicis, qua-
propter & fle-
rum & lamen-
tum prænisi-
testem veri do-
loris & penitu-
dinis non sibi
Musculus in
loc.

p Hinc collige
quid sit officii
nostri, quum
Iux Dei signa
nobis apparent,
nempe profiten-
dam esse pœni-
tentiam no-
stram, non tan-
tum coram Deo,
sed etiam coram
hominibus: ritus
quidem indiffe-
rentes sunt, nec
iubemus saccum
induere, aut e-
vellere capitu-
lum: sed veritas
horum signorum
serio atque ex
animo capescen-
da est. Calvin.
in loc.

q Est enim piis
affectibus quæ-
dam flendi vo-
luntas & ple-
rumq; graves
lachrimis eva-
perat dolor.
Ambros. de O-
bitu Valentini.
r Non quod
Propheta signa
repudiari velit,
sed ea non suf-
ficere, nec Deo
per se grata esse
ostendebat. Cal-
vin. in loc.

s Ita quatenus incitamenta, sunt cause penitentia, quatenus vero testimonia effectus dici
possunt: nam quæ gerimus nostri reatus insignia, nos magis commouent, ut nos peccatores & reos
agnoscamus: sunt autem effectus, quia n. si antecederet penitentia nunquam ad ea ex animo
suscipienda impelleremur. Calvin. t Oculi arguent dolorem. Cicero Epist. fam.

u Ad calvitium, ut omnia opera mortis radant, & auferant de corpore suo. Hieron. in loc.
comitantes.

mocking of God, but where outward and inward goe to-
gether that is well pleasing to him.

2 Observe here *what it is that God expects upon dayes of publike humiliation.* p (I have spoken of it before) to wit, an high expression of humiliation, *Weeping, Mourning, Baldness, girding with Sack-cloth*, what, all outward? no, but strained from within, when sorrow of heart shall squeeze tears out of the eyes. q sadness of soul for sin, cause sadness and mourning without; when bareing of the conscience before God shall cause, bareing of the head and shame before men; when rough sack-cloth of repentance in the heart shall express it selfe by Sack-cloth upon the loines, and mourning weeds without. This being certain, That no outward expression, *Weeping, Mourning*, or the like, is acceptable of it selfe, r but either as it shews s whats within, or else fits for it.

If you demand now why God lookes for such serious expressions, &c. I could answer in three severall particulars. I will onely name them.

1 That we might be humbled, *Hiscæ externis signis, quasi stimulis ad detestationem peccati & incitamus*, we are spurred up by these outward expressions to the detestation of sin, and *ad Calvitium*, u &c. (saith Saint Hieron) we are called unto baldness, to stir us up to shave off all the pride and exuberant naughtiness of our hearts and be humbled, God ever expecting at our hands, that outward and inward should be futable.

2 That thus we being humbled, God might be *pacified*, what? with these outward signes? (as the Papists fondly imagine) no, by no means, take heed of thinking so: no, nor yet with thy humiliation of it selfe, not with any of these (I say) as *Causes*, yet not without them as *Duties* and Con-

comitants. We read often that God hath been pacified when he found a soule humbled, but we never read that he was so without any humbling at all,

3 That (God being thus pacified) man might be *saved*, that is the chiefe end of all Gods Calls, for the good and salvation of his poore creatures; humbling our souls, pacifying his wrath, &c. all end in this, that God may be glorified, and man might be saved.

I shall winde up all with a twofold Application.

1 If it be so, that upon these serious grounds God looks for an intire humiliation, both *outward* and *inward*, what shall we thinke of such (I mentioned before) as will performe neither? They not forbear a meales meat x not a sigh, not a tear not a groan comes from them: *The King of Nimuech laid aside his robes, and covered himself with Sack-cloth and sat in ashes.* Something alike proportionable (sure) though not the same, might justly be expected from Christians now. But to doe the quite contrary, to brave it in *apparell*, and appear glorious upon such dayes as these: for men and women to sit here before the Lord, upon these mourning occasions, in gorgious colours, begarded with Silver and gold, with broyded haire, naked brcasts, patcht and painted faces, &c. is abominable to God and all good men, And I wonder such can hold from shame and blushing, thus to mock God, as when hee calls for *sack-cloth and mourning*, they are in all their jollity, in all their bravery.

O consider (my beloved) what you come hitler for, is it not for your selves? for your lives? for your soules? for your friends? nay, for the safety of three Kingdoms? And is this a posture or habit fit for Sutors? would any coming into the Church take you for *Beggars*, that lookes upon your gorgious attire and galantry? and yet beggars you must be y if ever you looke to have an *almes of mercy* at the hands of the Almighty.

O let my soule stand in a *begging posture* before the Throne of grace and my outward deportment be answerable thereunto, so shall I hope for a good *Almes*, a good return of all my

x *Mala domine servatur gule que semper expetit nunquam expletur, &c.* Ambrosi. de Ieiun.

y *Semetipsum abuegat qui mutatus in meliora, incipit esse quod non erat, & desinit esse quod erat.* Greg. in Ezek.

Tanto quisque debet esse humilior, atque ad servandum promptior ex munere, quanto in se obligationem conspiciit in re. Idem de ratione.

Idem.

my prayers and teares. It being ever the custom of the great God, to exalt the humble and mecke, and the rich and lofty to send empty away.

2 Use.

But now secondly (for a conclusion of this long exercise) Let my words (in the last place) be seasonable to you all, to *perswade* you to this duty of Weeping and mourning upon this proper day, and when God himselfe calls for it.

O thinke! doth God in these sad times call me to *Weeping*, and shall I laugh and be merry? to *Mourning*, shall I rejoyce? to *Baldnesse*, and I put on mine Ornaments? doth hee call for *Sackcloth*, and I pride my selfe in gorgeous attire?

Non est conveniens Luctibus iste Color.

I doe not say, but there may be a proud heart under a mean habit, and contrary, an humble soule under a rich garment, but be thy heart what it will be, when God calls for the *whole man*, outward and inward, deny it not: still remembring this Caution, to take heed of *resting* in any outwards whatsoever, and what outward expressions soever thou makest, that thou have a care they be like *water* coming out of a Spring or fountain, not gliding of a rock, (that is) from an inward principle of grace within, not an outward conformity onely, and compliunce without, from a sad heart grieved for sin; from a troubled soule for offending God; from an inward hatred of every evill way; and a resolute purpose (by the grace of God) to live better; then weep with *David* (and spare not) till thou canst weep no longer. And let me adde one thing more.

Let it come from a *deep affection* and apprehension of thy Countreys miseries and thy sins in particular, which have been the causes of it.

Give me leave (*Honourable and beloved*) in the close of all, to leave a *Sad meditation* upon your thoughts, I say, again and again, Your sins that have been the causes of it.

Deny it who can, your sins, my sins, all our sins have been the *Shedders* of that blood has been spilt, have been the procurers of those woes and miseries that are upon us.

There is not a man or woman here present, no northrough-
out

out the whole Land, but they have helpt to make the breach wider, to make the wound deeper, they have helpt to blow the flame higher, Nay, they have brought their Faggot, to set poor England all on fire.

I beseech you now use all means possible to quench it, you (*Right Honorable, the great Senators of the Land*) with your advice and Councell, and the utmost of your endeavours, now that God puts the ensuing opportunity of a TREATY into your hands

ANd now give me leave (*Honorable and beloved*) to address myself to you, whom God has honoured with such a blessed *Opportunity*, as neither you nor your fore-fathers ever had before, to save the life of three Kingdomes at once. Wee all looke upon you, as those who are design'd to be our temporall *Saviours* our temporall *Redeemers*, as those who are to be the great *Umpiers* to take up the great and sad Controversies of the Land upon your shoulders, An heavy burden indeed, and too heavy for you to beare alone, yet be not discouraged, There's *One* on whose Errand you go, and I hope will go along with you, that has promised to carry the greatest part, nay bidden you cast all upon him (*Psal. 55. 22.*) *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee*- It cannot but be a singular comfort unto you, that you have such an one to beare with you, and to ease you- Yet let me tell you, you must beare your *share*, you must do the utmost of your endeavours, and we beseech you do it *faithfully and thoroughly* (as we are confident you will) for the recovery and salvation of this bleeding, gasping, dying Kingdome.

Far be it from me (*Honorable and beloved*) to take upon me (before you goe about this Treaty) to be so presumptuous, as to prescribe rules or give directions to you, whose (both) *Wisdomes* and *Fidelities*, we blesse God for: I never had so good a conceit of my self or so bad of you, as to dare say such a thing. Nor did I ever love *movers extra Spharam*, to meddle

dle with State matters, or things above my reach, farther then so, as to *pray for*, and wish well unto them. Yet give me leave I beseech you, as a *Divine*, in the compass of my *calling*, within the bounds of my *Text* within the verge of the very *point* I have in hand, and upon occasion of your meeting to suddenly as to *morrow*, to speak *three words* in your eares.

2. Omnia que à nobis eveniunt, non ad nostram salutem conferre debemus. Cicero in 4 Cat. l. Nullus est casus pro dignitate & libertate patrie non servendus. Idem.

α Παρά τ' ἀπὸ θεοῦ εἰσι καὶ τὰ κακά. Hom. in γ Iliad. οὐδ' ἀπὸ θεοῦ κακὰ κινήσονται. Hom. in δ Odys.

b Chron. 15. 2.
c Exod. 10. 7.

1 Labour I beseech you to carry *publick spirits* with you: by-ssed with no sinister ends, nor by-respects, no private *aymes* whatsoever, but all publike for the good of the Land, 2 for the glory of God, &c. that though some things should not so well suite with your own private either opinions or interest, yet, *modo Deo, & Reip: &c.* so it may tend to Gods glory, and the poor bleeding Kingdomes good, let those oversway all private ends whatsoever, and so may you looke for Gods blessing upon you.

2 Keepe God always in your Eye, carry God out with you, and whatsoever the issue of this Treaty be, bring God home with you: in all your debates let God go before you, begin with God, go on with God, and end with God: a still keep him in your sight, in every passage of your treating. So *If you keepe close to God, you neede not feare, but God will keepe close to you, but if you forsake him he likewise will forsake you* b.

3 Take deeply into your thoughts the *present sad condition* of this wefull Kingdome *as now it stands*, the present condition I say (not as it was) but *as now it is* (as *Pharaohs* servants said to him) c *almost quite destroyed already*, and apply your remedies accordingly, that so, though you doe not do so much as you would, yet you may what you can, to save from utter ruine and destruction.

A *Physition* that comes to a patient desperately ill of a burning feaver or the like, doth not goe about, or think to make him well presently and as strong and healthy as before: All he aims at in the first place is how to *save his life*, and abate the malignancie of his disease, then, after by degrees, by the help of good medicines and diet sets him up right again.

God hath made you (*Right Honorable and beloved*) our *Physitions*, you have as sick a patient *salve* into your hands as
ever

ever any had, a poore Kingdome, all in a desparate *malignant* burning *feaver*: we can never look or expect, that at this *Trea-*ty you should make your patient sound, and in perfect health out of hand: (no God knows it's gone too far to hope for that) all that we desire for the present is, for Gods sake to save the *Life* of the Kingdome, and we will not doubt but afterward by your good physick and diet, it may recover in time, and grow strong again.

Mistake me not I beseech you, far be it from me to speake the least word for a daub'd, palliated, unsetled peace (with some, let Religion or Laws sinke or swim, so wee may have peace upon any termes) no, God forbid, *Truth* and *Peace* must goe together: and this is a rule may satisfie any sober man, *That there can be no good peace with men, where there is no peace with God.* But this is that I say, though you cannot fully cure your patient, or doe so much at first as you desire, yet *aim* at this in the first place, we humbly pray you, to save the *life* of a bleeding Kingdome, the life of Religion, the life of Laws, the life of Liberties, &c. save but the *life at first*, that it perish not, and we will not fear of its recovery by degrees and growing healthier in time then before.

And let me adde one thing more, endeavour it the rather I beseech you, because you doe not know whether ever you may have the like *opportunity* any more: In all humane probability, this is *one* of the last *gentle*, healing medicines, that ever this Land is like to have: *purg'd* (though, I am afraid, not from its iniquities) and *blooded* it hath been oft before. How many *ounces* shall I say, or pounds? nay how many floods, how many rivers nay, seas of blood hath poore *England* lost within these five years? (it is now grown *faint*, very *faint* (God knows) a good *cordiall*, an happie Accommodation, were the likeliest Phisick in the world, to set it right again.

If this *Treaty* doe no good (I will never question the *power* of an Almighty God, nor the *care* of so wise and vigilant a *Senate* as you are.) But mean-while my soule trembles within me, to thinke, what in all likely hood will be next: Nothing but bleeding, and bleeding again, till at last I am afraid
 H poore

poore *England* will quite bleed to death, unlesse your wisdomes (which next under God we rely upon) finde some happy meanes out how to prevent it; And God upon your seasonable endeavours, be pleased to *shew his mercie in the mount, In acie Novacula*, and make our extremity his opportunity of shewing mercie to a declining Kingdome.

O for Christ his sake therefore put to your helping hands (as we doubt it not) to save a poore Kingdome, nay, (as I said before) three Kingdomes at once: all those men whose lives will be spared by an happy peace will all blesse you: all those wives that otherwise will lose their husbands, will all pray for you: all the poor children that (if these wars continue) will lose their parents, and aged parents that will lose their children, will all with one mouth praise God for you: nay we shall all desire God to reward you: doe your endeavours therefore we beseech you, and the Lord give a blessing to you.

And let me tell you one thing more (*Right Honorable*) to your comfort. You goe upon as much *Advantage* to this business as ever Treators went: Advantages, you will say? quite contrary: the wound festred, the disease grown desperate, oppositions infinite, distances irreconcilable, are these Advantages? Still I say you goe upon as great advantages as ever Treators went, why? You goe upon the *Wings* of so many thousand prayers, you goe down upon the full tide of so many millions of teares, you goe with the full gail of so many heavenly wishes and ejaculations up to God for you: Here is your advantage.

Go on therefore in Gods name and prosper, While you treat we will pray; while you debate we will weepe; while you demand we will beg; while you parley, we will knock; and cry at heaven gates for a blessing on you, even so *Amen*.

The Lord prosper the *workes of your hands*, unto you, the Lord prosper your *handy worke*, the blessing of the God of peace be upon your endeavours, that you may bring an happy peace home with you. And to this, let all those that wish well to this our Sion, lift up their voice and say, *Amen*.

And

And then for all you that stay behind, let me speake one word to you too, that every one helpe forward to quench these flames. You that are able helpe with your purses, with your strength, with your abilities, with your friends, and what ever may conduce thereto: All you that heare me, and every one else with your prayers and with your tears.

There are but three wayes usually to quench an house on fire and preserve it. (1) By crying out for helpe, (2) By setting up Ladders and getting about it. (3) or by pouring on water to dead and quench it.

Use these means. I beseech you, to stay a Kingdoms flames. Ah my beloved its too manifest that poore *England* is all on fire, (1) *Helpe, helpe* for the Lords sake, every man helpe as for his life to quench those flames. (2) If thou beest not tall enough, mount up the ladder of thy prayers and teares, or clime up upon the ladder of Christs Crofs, by a true and lively faith above it. (3) And then lastly poure, poure on whole buckets of teares, call to thy kindred, thy friends and all to poure on theirs. However, forget not to cry mightily to Christ thy Saviour and Redeemer to poure on his blood. One drop of thy precious blood (blessed Saviour to make an Attonement for this poor Land and Nation) will doe it, even so *Amen, sweet Jesu Amen.*

However (to conclude with my Text) since God Calls, slack not thy duty too: perhaps thy teares may help to quench those flames thy sins have made, b thy sighs and mourning may help to recall the dying groans of many thousands, thy *Baldness* cover others heads in the day of battell, thy *Sackcloth* help to cloath thee, and this Land with a blessing.

(Weepe therefore) and mourn, and spare not, but to true and unfeigned repentance (be sure of that) then God himselfe has promised, he will put all such teares into his bottle.

Ile hold you no longer. Me thinks with *Joseph* I see your Hearts full yea and some of your eyes too, & desirous to go want your selves in a corner, goe in Gods name, Ile not detain you. And God in his good time, wipe all teares away from your eyes.

E I N I S.

b Utinam quis daret capiti meo aquas, & oculis meis fontem lacrymarum: forte enim non verperiret ignis exurens, quod interueni fluens lacryma diluisset. Bern.

Gen. 43.30.



Die Mercurii Jan. 29. 1644.

O*R*dered that Sir Thomas Dacres and Master Whittacre doe from this house give thanks to Doctor Whincop, and Master Walker, for the great pains they tooke in the Sermons they preached this day, at the intreaty of this House, at S^t. Margarets Westminster, (it being the day of publike humiliation) and to desire them to print their Sermons, and they are to have the like priviledge in printing of them, as others in the like kinde usually have had.

H. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint Samuel Man to print my Sermon.



John Whincop.



Die Mercurij Januar. 29th. 1644.

ORdered, that Sir *Thomas Dacres*, and Master *Whitacre*, doe from this House give thanks to Doctor *Wincopp*, and Master *Walker*, for the great paines they tooke in the Sermons they preached this day, at the intreary of this House, at St. *Margarets Westminster*, (it being the day of publike Humiliation) and to desire them to Print their Sermons : and they are to have the like priviledge in printing of them, as others in the like kinde usually have had.

H. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I Appoynt *Nathaniel Webb* to Print my Sermon.

GEORGE WALKER.

SERMON

Preached before the Honourable
House of Commons, at their late solemn
Monethly Fast, *Januarie 29th. 1644*

Wherein these foure necessary Considerations
are plainly proved and demonstrated out of
the holy Scriptures, *viz.*

1. *The Bands of the brethren in iniquity, the pernicious Brambles, the Plague and curse of a Land and Kingdome.*
2. *All the brethren in these Bands, sharpe pricks of the cursed bramble, sharers in the sinne, and subiect to the destruction thereof.*
3. *The righteous kept by God from the full sense and feeling of the mischiefe which they are sharpeley set, and cruelly bent to bring upon them.*
4. *The terrible, sudden, and totall destruction of the Bramble, and every hurtfull prick thereof, by Gods dreadfull storme.*

By *GEORGE WALKER*, Batchelor of Divinity, Pastor of
Iohn Evangelists, London, and one of the Assembly of
Divines.

Published by Order of the House of Commons.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *T. B.* for *Nathaniel Webb*, and are to be sold
in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1645.





T O
The Honourable House of
COMMONS,
Now Assembled in
PARLIAMENT.

Renowned Worthies,

WHEN I received your Message, sent to me by one of Your Worthy Members, that you had appointed mee to Preach before You, at the Monethly Fast then next to come, mine Insufficiency, ^a Age, and ^a 63 years. Weaknesse of Body, began immediately to put a iust excuse in my mouth: But the strong obligation in which the whole Land is obliged unto You, (being the onely powerfull ^b Saviours under God, of Church and State, from ruine and destruction, when they were already over-runne, and at the poynt to bee swallowed up by the

^b Nehem.
9.27. and
Obad. 21.

The EPISTLE.

Bands of Antichrist) did silence all Excuses. Besides, I was afraid to incurre the blame or suspicion of ingratitude to them who had delivered me from the paw of the Lyon, which thirsted after my blood; and had set mee at liberty after two yeares imprisonment, and Voted a just recompence of the wrongs done to mee, and a Satisfaction from mine Oppressors, for all my losses and dammages, by their malice sustained. Which recompence, through your favour and forwardnesse to relieve mee I had certainly received, if the multitude of Malignant spirits, then too prevalent among you, but now expelled out of your Assemblie, had not opposed and hindred the transmission of my Cause in due time, to the Honourable House of LORDS. I saw also a speciall hand of GOD in calling mee to Preach to so Honourable an Assemblie, and his power and providence, in frustrating and bringing to nought the Counsells and purposes of the proud persecuting Prelate of CANTERBURIE, who on the same day of the VVeeke of the same moneth of the Yeare, six yeares before, brought mee to answer Ore tenus in the Star-Chamber, with full intent to lay a heavie Censure on mee: And when the truth of GOD for which I suffered, did beare mee out against all his Slanders, and false Accusations, hee most proudly affirmed, and bid me assure my selfe of it, That I should never come in a Pulpit to preach any more.

Vpon these Considerations, I did cheerefully submit my shoulders to beare this burthen, though it seemed farre heavier then my strength was able to sustaine and undergoe. And now, Yee Worthies of GODS Israel, I humbly begge this favour at Your hands, that You will accept of the willingnesse of the Workman to serve
You,

January. 29.
1638.

The EPISTLE.

You, not the worth of the Service it selfe : Looke up-
on the pure, precious matter here handled, chosen out of
a golden Psalme of D A V I D, the sweet Singer of
Israel, not on the weake handling of it. I conceived it
verie seasonable for the Time and Occasion : For the pre-
sent Calamities by which the L O R D calls us to pub-
like and generall Fasting and Humiliation, proceed from
the Bands of the Brethren in Iniquitie, which are so
many cursed Brambles of severall sorts, pestering the whole
Land, and stinging us with their hurtfull pricks, which
abund in everie Band, Sect, and Faction. The thing
for which wee seeke unto G O D by Fasting and Pray-
er, is Deliverance of our Church and State from the
mischiefe which they are sharply set to bring and inflict
upon all that are Righteous and Religious in the Land.
This Deliverance cannot bee fully and perfectly obtained,
till the Lord our God bee pleased to cut downe these
cursed Brambles, and to ridde these three Kingdomes of
them. And this the L O R D will doe verie speedily, so
soone as hee sees us made ripe for Deliverance by true
unfeigned repentance, and amendment of our lives : For
then he will take away, as with a Storme and Whirle-
winde, not onely the great Faction of the Antichristian
Papists, Atheists, and Malignants, banded together,
and wageing open VVarre against us, but also all the
Sects of Anabaptists, Antinomians, Libertines, and
Schismaticall Separatists, who by opposing the Reforma-
tion, and union of our Church, with the rest of the
best Reformed Churches, both in Doctrine and Dis-
cipline, according to the written VVord of God, do act strong-
ly for Antichrist, and by raising up Divisions and Distra-
ctions, in the City, Countrey, and all our Armies, doe as much
as in them is, to weaken us, make breaches in our VValls, and
to lay us open and naked to the violence and furie of our
open

The EPISTLE.

open enemies : All these things my Text, as I have faithfully opened and expounded it, doth offer to your grave and wise consideration ; and in this Sermon I have proved every particular by cleare testimonies out of holy Scriptures, and in obedience to your command, I have committed it to the Presse, and here humbly present it to your Honourable Assembly, with my hearty desire and prayer to God for you, that by it, and many other most godly and more learned Sermons, which sound continually in Your eares, You may take occasion to observe and note the danger in which our Land is, by reason of those many Sects and Hereticks, and Schismaticks, which like so many cursed Brambles grow up and increase daily, even to the over-spreading of the whole Kingdome, which when you come to doe once seriously ; I doubt not but your zeale will stirre you up, to curb so many of them as are curable, and to cut off those that are incorrigible : even such Thorns and Brambles as David describes in his last words, saying, The sons of Belial are all of them as Thornes thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands. But the man that shall touch them, must be fully fenced with Iron, and the staffe of a Speare ; and they shall bee utterly burnt with fire in the same place. 2 Sam. 23. 6, 7. The great God, who hath so often, and wonderfully preserved You heretofore from the secret treachery and open furie of these wicked men, bee still your shield, and your defence, and make his great worke to prosper in your hands. So prayeth,

Your humble and hearty
(though weak and unworthy)

Servant in the Lords Work,

GEORGE WALKER.



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*Before your Pots can feele the Thurnes, hee shall take them
away as with a whirlwinde, both living, and in his wrath.*

Or thus, according to the Hebrew Text,

*Before they shall feele your sharp pricks, O Bramble, he will
take away every one of them as with a Tempest, or whirle-
winde, as well the green as the drie.*



Is one of the Proverbiall sayings of the wise King Solomon, that if a Ruler hearken to lyes, all his servants, that is, Officers and Ministers (*Messengers*) are wicked. His Father David in the dayes of the reigne of the wicked Tyrant *Achish*, had full experience of this to his grief. For after that God had rejected *Saul* for his disobedience, for as being King over Israel, and had declared his purpose to him by *Samuel*, an evill spirit of fury, jealousie, and tyranny came upon him, and made him looke upon his faithfull servant *David* with an evill

eye of envie and suspicion, so that hee hated him to the death, and all good men who did love and favour him for his upright dealing, and his eares were open to hearken to all true slanders and false reports, which wicked flatterers, Courtiers, or other false informers would bring against him. Hereby it came to passe, that *Dag* the Edomite, and *Cush* the Benjamite, and many others, even a whole band of wicked men like unto them, came to be chiefe Counsellors of State, Officers, and Judges about *Saul*, chiefe executioners of his unjust and cruell commands, and held the chiefe places of Judicature under him. *David*, and all the good people, who had relation to him, and favoured him, were sore afflicted, oppressed, and persecuted by this wicked Band. But the Lord his God, unto whom he had continuall recourse by prayer, did comfort him inwardly, and revealed to him by his Spirit, that though he suffered him to be persecuted; yet he would not destroy him by these wicked instruments, but would preserve him from feeling the evil which they intended, which was to cut him off. And hereupon he doth compose this golden Prophetically Psalme, the Title whereof is, (*Thou wilt not destroy*) and a golden Psalme of *David*, for the chiefe Musician. In which:

First, he doth as if were face to face, direct his speech to this wicked band, and doth chide and rebuke them in the two first Verses, saying, *Doe yee yett hold together in a band, or Congregation?* (The word in the originall signifies, first, and properly, a bundle of Cornes, or herbes and flowers bound together in a bundle, and metaphorically, a Band of souldiers, or of thieves and robbers combined together in a band, or league.) *Doe yee judge uprightly, o yee sons of men? yea, in heart yee work wickednesse, you weigh the violence of your hands in the earth.* That is, under pretence of holding the scales of justice in your hands, you weigh out to Gods people wrongs, injuries, and violent oppression.

Secondly, he reprocheth to the world their inward and habituated malice, and iniquity in the third, fourth, and fifth verses. *The wicked (saith he) are estranged* (that is, alienated from God and all goodnesse) *even from the womb, they get a stray, as soone as they are borne, speaking lies.* That is by custome, and continuall practice of their naturally inbred malice, they get a habit of lying, and falsehood, and increase their wickednesse.)

ness) *their person* (that is of spite and malice) *is like the person of a Serpent, they are like the deafe Adder that stoppeth her eares, which refuseth to hearken to the voyce of the charmers, charming never so wisely.* That is, they harden their hearts, and stop their eares against all just reproofes, wise Counsels, wholesome admonitions, charming and alluring, perswasions.

Thirdly, hee breaks out into a Prophetickall imprecation, in which he doth by way of wishing, foretell Gods just proceeding against them in judgement severall wayes; as first, that though they be armed with power, and weapons of cruelty, as Lyons are with sharp and strong teeth; yet God will break their power, and their strongest weapons in their hands; as if one should breake the teeth of Lyons in their moutbes, and dash out their great jaw teeth, *verse 6.* Secondly, as waters which runne continually melt and passe away, so shall they vanish: and when they attempt to wound or slay the innocent, their purposes and endeavours shall be frustrate like Arrowes cut in pieces, as they are flying out of the bow, *verse 7.* Thirdly, They shall be consumed as a Snayle that melteth away, and as the untimely birth of a woman, which never seeth the light of the Sun; so shall they never come to see the light of Gods favour, nor any true blessing, *verse 8.* Thus far he proceeds by way of Imprigation. But in the fourth place here in my Text, he turnes his Speech again to that cursed crew and band of wicked Counsellors, and comparing them to that great Bramble, or Bryar which is in the Hebrew called *Atad*, and in Greek *Cynosbatos*: That is the *Dog-bryar* and of all Brambles is most full of sharp hooked pricks, some hardned and dryed with heat of Sunne, so that they rend and teare where they catch hold; and others, though very sharpe, yet are more green weake and tender: He tells them that before Gods people shal feell the utmost extremity of their malice and surie, or before they can fasten on them, the mischief they intend; the Lord will destroy, scatter, and take them away all and everie one as with a storm, or whirle winde, as well the young and greene as the old, dryed and hardned in their malice and crueltie.

Fifthly, in the tenth verse, he comforteth the Church of God with a Prophecie of victorie, and triumph which the righteous shall obtaine over these persecuting enemies. *The righteous* (saith he) *even everie righteous man* shall rejoyce, when hee

feeth the vengeance, he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.

Lastly, he sheweth what shall be the end and issue of all, both of the destruction of the wicked in the very height of their persecutions, and in the heat of their rage and fury against the Church, and also of the deliverance of the righteous, and of their victory, joy, and triumph over them: namely this, That the world shall see, and earthly men shall say, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.* That is, all shall turne to the glory of God at last; and the men of the world shall acknowledge that nothing comes to passe on earth by chance, but in the most troublesome times of greatest confusion, God over-rules all by his wisdom and providence, and hath in store a good reward, which hee will give to the righteous, as a fruit of their faith and patience; and a just recompence of revange and judgement for the wicked; which he will render to them even here on earth. This is the summe of this golden Psalm. And so I passe from the *Cohere[n]ts*, to the Text it selfe, which in our new English Translation, runnes thus: *Before your Poss can seeke the Thorns, hee shall take them away as with a whirle-winde, both living, and in his wrath.*

In all the Book of God I doe not remember any sentence so variously and differently Translated, as this verse which I have choise for my present Text.

The Greek Septuagint, and the vulgar Latine, which followes them *terbarum*, doeth thus render the words, *Before your Thorns can seale the Brambles, he will devour them, as if were alive,* and so it is in the *Hebrew*.

The Chaldee Paraphrase runs thus: *Whom as yet the wicked are not made tender, they grow hard as the great Bramble as long as they are green, like an unripe sovre Grape, hee will destroy them with a whirle-winde.*

But the Translation which *Hierome* made out of the Hebrew Text, hath the words thus: *Before your Pricks grow up into the great Bramble, a Tempest like wrath shall fynch them, as it were alive.*

Austine upon this place reads this verse thus, *Before the Bramble bring forth your pricks, as it were alive, as it were in wrath he shall swallow them up.*

Pagnin thus Translates the words, *Before your Pricks understand*

stand the Bramble, so living, so wrath will with a Tempest snatch him away.

The old English Translation runnes thus, Or ever your pots are made hot with Thornes, so shall indignation vex him as a thing that is raw.

The English made at Geneva is thus, As raw flesh before your Pots feele the fire of thornes: so let him carry them away as with a whirle-winde in his wrath.

Tremelius and Junius come nearest of all to the originall Hebrew Text, and thus they render the words, When as yet your pricks, which are pricks of the Dog-bryar, are not felt, hee will destroy as with a whirle-winde every one, as well the living, as the parched.

Ainsworth thus, Ere ever they shall perceive your Thornes of the Bramble, even alive, even in wrath he will tempestuously whirle it away. That is; every Thorne or prick of the Bramble.

This variety of Translations ariseth chiefly from the originall Hebrew word, *Sivvab*, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies, First, Pots, or Caldrons, wherein flesh is sod, as *Ex.* 16.3. and 38.3. *Ezech.* 11. 11. Secondly, Thornes, and pricks of Thornes and Bryars, as *Isa.* 34. 13. *Hos.* 2. 8. Thirdly, because the pricks of the great Bramble are very sharpe and hooked: this word is used to signifie Ash-hooks, *Amos* 4.2. In all our English Bibles of the old, new, and Geneva Translation, and some Latine Bibles, this word is taken to signifie Pots or Caldrons. But the Septuagint, Hierome, vulgar Latine *Austine*, *Pagnin*, *Tremelius*, and all others that I have seene take this word in the second sense, for the sharp pricks of Thornes and Brambles. Here certainly this word signifies the sharpe pricks of the great Dog-bramble, which here in the Hebrew Text is *Atad*, and is used, *Judg.* 9. 14, 15. in *Torbams* parable, to signifie the Bramble, which being made King of the Trees, kindled a fire, which devoured the Cedars of *Lebanon*. Now this Bramble in the body, and every branch of it is beset with sharp hooked pricks, some of which are green, and have life, and moisture in them, and though they be sharpe, yet they are not so stiff and strong as to make any deep wound in a mans flesh. Others are greater, more hooked, and hardened by drying and parching with vehement heat of the Sunne, and they strike to the quick; and hold fast, or teare where they catch hold of mans skin,

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skin, or flesh. The first are here in my Text called ^a living or green : The other are called ^b dried, parched, and hardened; and the Prophetical Psalmist affirmeth, *That God who judgeth in the earth, will take away and destroy as with a tempestuous whirlle-Winde, every one of them, as well the green, as the dry, as Tremellius out of the originall doth most truly Translate the word. These things well considered, lead us to the full sense and true meaning of the whole Text. First, here is a manifest Apostrophe, that is the Psalmists turning of his speech to the Band or Congregation of wicked Counsellors, unjust Iudges, and violent persecutors; and oppressors to whom he spake before in the two first verses. For he speaks not of them onely, but to them being a multitude in the second person plurall, saying, *Before they feelee your pricks.* Secondly he calls them, as they are a Band, *Atad*, which name signifies the great Dog-bramble, and the word here is of the Vocative case, and may fitly be Translated, *o yee Bramble,* whom I doe by a Metaphor call a Bramble, for the resemblance and similitude between it and you. Thirdly, he doth not limmit and restraine this Prophesie to himselfe, and his godly friends persecuted by *Saul* and his wicked Band: but he extends it to all Gods people, persecuted by such Bands in all future times. For he doth not say, *Before we*, but *before they feelee*: that is, Gods people in generall, of all ages doe feelee the furie of you, and such as yee are. The Hebrew word in the Text containes so much in the full signification of it. Fourthly he doth resemble the severall sorts of Persecutors in such wicked Bands, to the severall sorts of pricks in the great Bramble: for some of them are green-headed, like the green Thornes, not so cruell, crafty, and able to hurt. Others by long custome are hardened in their malice, and habituated in cruelty, being masters in the art of persecuting. And fifthly he foretells their destruction, that God will scatter and destroy them all, even every one of every sort, green, and dry, young, and old, weaker and stronger, in these words, *hee will take away every one as with a whirlle-winde, as well the green, as the dry.* And so the whole Text runnes thus, *Before they feelee your thornes or pricks, o ye Bramble, hee will take away every one as with a whirlle-winde, as well the green as the dry. Before they,* That is, the righteous whom yee hate and persecute, *doe feelee,* that is, have a full sense and understanding of your Thornes*

or Pricks : That is, of the sharpnesse, fury, and mischief which is in the heart & hand of all and every one among you : for every one in your Band and Congregation, is a grievous thorne, and sharpe prick of the cursed Bramble, sharply set and bent to doe mischief in malice and fury to the people and Church of God. *He that is God who judgeth in the earth,* (as it is expressed in the eleventh verse in the last words) *will take away as with a whirle-winde* (that is, scatter and destroy tempestuously) *every one, as well the living and green, as the dry and hardned.* That is, all of every sort banded together, as well the green-headed, and young persecutors sharpe set, but not so strong to hurt ; as the old and dry who are hardned in malice by long custom, and in power and policy are strong to doe mischief. And so I have done with opening and expounding of the Text. I proceed to the Doctrines which the words and phraes thereof rightly understood doe offer to us.

And first, in that here the Band of wicked Counsellours, unjust Iudges, corrupt Officers, and violent oppressors, and persecutors of Gods Church and people, is resembled to a Bramble, and is by the Spirit of God, which spake by David, called by the name of the *Dog-bramble*, which is the worst, and most hurtfull of all Briars and Thornes, which God layd as a curse upou the earth for mans sinne, *Gen. 3. 18.* Hence this Doctrine naturally ariseth, *That every Band, Company, and fallion of wicked men, whether evill Counsellors, unjust Iudges, and corrupt Officers in a Church or State, or wicked instruments, and men of violence conspiring and working with them to doe hurt and mischief to Gods people, and to persecute his Church, is certainly most hurtfull and dangerous, even a curse and plague in the Land.*

2 Sam. 23.

2.

1. Doct.

Secondly in that all of all sorts more or lesse able to doe mischief, combined, and banded together in such factions, are called the Thornes or pricks of the cursed bramble. Hence flowes the second Doctrine, viz. *That all persons in every such Band or faction, working together against Gods Church and people, whether they be more or lesse pernicious, and able to doe mischief whether hypocrites, working under hand, or open profest persecutors, they are all sharers in the same wickednesse with the worst and most malignant of that cursed crew, and shall perish in the same destruction.*

2. Doct.

Thirdly, in that it is here said of the righteous, that before they feele the pricks of the Bramble, God will take away every

3. Doct.

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one, both green and dry, more or lesse grievous and pricking, and hurtfull to them. Hence we gather a third Doctrine, viz. *That God is so tender and watchfull over his Church and people, that he frustrates the wicked Counsellors and practises of their enemies, and scatters and destroyes their persecutors, before they proceed and prevaile so farre, as to make them feele and undergoe the evil and mischiefe which they are sharply set, and cruelly bent to inflict and bring upon them.*

4. Doct. Fourthly, from the words which here threaten destruction to the sharpe pricks, that is, the enemies and persecutors of the righteous, that God will take away every one as with a whirlwind, a fourth Doctrine ariseth, which is this; *That when Gods Church is most dangerously beset, and assaulted by the bands of enemies, and persecutors of severall sorts, the Lord will terribly, suddenly, and totally scatter and destroy them all, and none shall escape.*

Of these foure Doctrines I purpose to speake in order, and to prove and apply them severally, as God shall assist, and time permit.

The first Doctrine which teacheth us, *That every Band and Faction of the wicked, who consult, conspire, and worke together against the Church and people of God, is most hurtfull, dangerous, and pernicious, even the plague and curse of Lands and Kingdomes, in which they are, is abundantly confirmed by Testimonies and examples, which the holy Scriptures doe plentifully afford and minister to us.* For cleare testimonies we have all those places wherein all and every one of these wicked men banded together, are called by the name as of Bryars, and Thornes, which are the curse of the earth: so also of Serpents, Scorpions, Wolves, Lyons, Beares, and other hurtfull and noysome Creatures, as Mich. 7. 3. the Prophet inveighing against the practises of such Counsellors, Iudges, Officers, and other wicked persons banded together under an ungodly Prince, saith: *They hunt every man his brother with a net, that they may doe evil with both hands earnestly, or cunningly: the Prince requireth, and the Iudge also asketh for a reward, and the great man uttereth the mischiefe of his foule: so they wrap it up, and smite it together: The best of them is a Brier, the most upright is more sharpe and pricking, then an hedge of thornes, or Bryars.* Also the Lord by the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapt. 2. 6. saith of such men, that they are Bryers, Thorns, and Scorpions: *And when son of man be not afraid*

of them, or of their great words, though Briars and Thornes bee With thee, and thou dost dwell among Scorpions, be not afraid of their words, nor dismayed at their lookes, though they be a rebellious house: That is a Band and faction of rebellious men. And in the Prophetical Song of Moses, *Deut. 32. 32. 33.* It is said of such men cleaving together, as Grapes in a cluster, *That their Vine is the Vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorah: their Grapes are Grapes of Gall, and their clusters are bitter: their Wine is the poyson of Dragons, and the cruell venome of Aspes.* And *Ezech. 28. 24.* The Lord promising to remove the plague and curse from his Land and People, saith: *There shall be no more a pricking Bryar, nor any grievous Thorne unto them.* When he riddeth his Land of such grievous oppressours, persecutors, and such pernicious persons. Likewise *Isaiah 9. 4. 5.* It is said of the men of this ranke, who speake vanity, trust in lyes, conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity, that they hatch Cockatrice Egges, and weave the Spiders web; he that eateth of their Egges dyeth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a Viper. And *Isa. 27. 4.* the Lord saith, that while he keeps the Church, his Vineyard of red Wine, these enemies of it, are Bryars and Thornes set against him in Battaille. This holy Psalmist doth not onely here in this Psalm, verse 4. call them deafe Adders, and saith, *their poyson is like the poyson of a Serpent:* but in other Psalmes also hee calls them Dogs, and Lyons, as *Psal. 22. 16. 20, 21.* *Many Dogs are come about me, the assembly of the wicked have inclosed mee, and verse 21. Save me from the Lyons mouth,* and *Psalm 57. 4.* though they be sons of men, yet they are said to bee soule-hunting and devouring Lyons, like their Father the Devill, and set on fire of hell. *My soule is among Lyons, and I lye among them that are set on fire, even the sonnes of men, whose teeth are Speares and Arrowes, and their Tongues a sharpe sword.* And *Psalm. 140. 2. 3.* He complains against them, and calls them men of violence gathered together to doe mischief, *who have sharpened their tongues like a Serpent, and Adders poyson is under their lips.* And *Ezech. 22. 27.* and *Zeph. 3. 3.* they are called roaring Lyons, and evening Wolves, ravening for the prey, to shed blood, to destroy soules, and to get dishonest gaine. Besides these, with many like testimonies, we have also most pregnant examples. In the Book of Judges, chap. 9. we read that *Abimelech* the son of *Gideon*, by a Concubine, being assisted by a band of wicked Counsellors,

who were prevalent, and leading men in *Shechem*; and by the helpe of vaine and light persons, which he hired to be his followers with money which they gave him; did usurpe the Kingdome after the death of his father, and slue his seventy brethren, who had more right to reigne than hee; and what a curse and plague by so doing they proved to him & themselves, and to their City and Countrey, the event shewed; for he was the Bramble in his Brother *Iothams* Parable, and they the trees which anoynted him to be King over them, and by an evill spirit which God sent between him and them, they became Traytors to him, and he destroyed their chiefe City, slue the inhabitants, beat down the walls, and sowed salt in it, to make it a cursed place: and pursuing the rest of the people who betooke themselves for refuge to a strong Tower, he had his skull broken by a stone which a woman cast upon his head: and lest it should be said that a woman slue him, he caused his Armour-bearer to thrust him through with his sword, and so he dyed desperately; and *Iothams* parable was verified in him, and his Band of wicked Counsellors, and abettors; they proved to be a most pernicious and destroying plague to him, and a curse to their City, State, and Countrey: and a fire came out from him, to devoure them as in that Chapter is shewed at large. In the same book Chapter 20. we read that the banding together of wicked Counsellours, and men of *Belial* in *Gibeab*, the chief City of *Benjamin*, proved destructive to the whole Tribe, and no small plague to all *Israel*, who lost above forty thousand men in a bloody Civill war, which by Gods Law they were bound to make and pursue against them for putting away abominations, and destroying cursed Malefactors, out of *Israel*. Those unjust Judges, and wicked Counsellors, patrons of filthy abomination, refused to deliver up to justice the sonnes of *Belial*, who had most villanously abused the *Levites* wife unto death; and by their authority stirred up all the Children of *Benjamin* to take up armes against all their brethren of the other Tribes, who were commanded to execute justice in such cases under paine of a curse, and to cut off such abominable sinners, though with great damage and blood-shed on their own side. But in the end this proved an heavy curse to the whole Tribe, which in that unjust cause which they maintained by the sword, was cut off, and utterly destroyed, except one's five hundred men,

men, who escaped by flight unto the Rock of *Rimmon*, and the wilderness. *Saul* also, the first anoynted King over all *Israel*, when God had rejected him for his disobedience, gathered to himselfe a Band of wicked Counsellors, corrupt Officers, and Iudges, and other instruments of his violence, and of his cruelty, to persecute *David*, and such as favoured his righteous Cause, as *Doeg*, and others, of whom the beginning of this Psalm speaks. And mention is also made of them, *1 Sam. 22*. By them he was stirred up to pursue *David* his chiefe Champion against the uncircumcised *Philistims*, the common enemies of *Israel*, to drive him out of his Land: So that for want of his helpe, he was in his great straits and feares drawne to consult with the devill, by the witch of *Endor*, to the destruction of himselfe, and of thote his wicked followers, by whose Counsells he was led: For with them, all his valiant Sonnes were slaine in Battaille, the army of *Israel* routed and smitten; and he himselfe so hotly pursued, that he had no hope to escape: and in bitterneffe of anguish hee fell desperately upon his owne Sword, and dyed a selfe-murtherer, *1 Sam. 31*. and so this wicked Band proved a curse to him and themselves, and a plague to all *Israel*.

It was a Band of wicked Counsellors, among whom *Achitophel* was president, which animated *Absalom* to become a Traytor to King *David* his owne Father, and to raise up in Rebellion all *Israel* against him: which as it was an heavy plague to *David*, and a curse to his family and Kingdome: so especially to themselves; for *Achitophel* the president hanging himselfe, and the rest with *Absalom* were destroyed in Battaille, and miserably perished. The like misery did *Reboboams* Band of heady Counsellours, and ill-affected followers, proud young men, bring upon him and his Kingdome, for being led and ruled by their Counsell, his Kingdome was woefully rent, ten Tribes forooke him, and great calamity fell upon him, and upon *Ierusalem*, the royall City, which was by this rent left naked of defence, and *Sheshak* King of *Egypt* robbed it, and tooke away all the Treasures which *Solomon* left in the house of the Lord, and in the Kings house, & all the Shield of Gold which he had made, *1 Kings 12*. and *2 Chron. 12*. Likewise the Princes and flattering Counsellours of *Ioash* King of *Indab*, who conspired together, and were authors to draw

1 Sam. 25.

the King to Idolatry, and to persecute to death the Prophet, who was the sonne of that renowned Priest *Jehoiadab*, by whom he himselfe had been saved alive, nourished, and set up in the Throne of the Kingdome; they were most pernicious, they brought a curse on the King, his family, and Kingdome, and on themselves: for they were destroyed by the small Bands of the *Syrians*, which God for their sinnes raised up to cut them off; and their great Host, and the spoyle of them was sent to *Damascus*: and the King himselfe being left by the enemies in fore diseases, was slain by his owne servants: and this was the plague and curse which his wicked Counsellors, by whom hee was led, brought on him and themselves. *2 Chron. 24.* we read also in the Prophecie of *Jeremiah*, that King *Zedekiah* was altogether led and ruled by a Band of wicked Counsellors, Princes, Priests, and false Prophets, which at length over-awed him, when they had brought him into great straits, *Jer. 38. 24, 25.* These were the men who persecuted *Jeremiah* for prophesying to them from God, laid wait to catch him in his words, smote him, put him in the stocks, and caused the King to cast him into the Dungeon. What cursed men these were, and what dreadfull vengeance and wrath of God followed them and their families, the Prophet sheweth, *Jerem. 18. 21. and 20. 11, 12. viz. That their children shall be delivered up to the sword, their Wives shall be Widows, and a cry shall be heard from their houses: Gods vengeance shall be seene on them, and their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten.* What a plague and curse they were to the King, to his sons, and to his City, and Kingdome, the same Prophet testifieth: They made him and his people re-assume their dismissed Bond-servants, and break the Covenant of God, *Jer. 34. 11.* Yea, and the Oath of God which he made to the King of *Babylon*, when he set him up to be King; and they hardned him by their evill Counsell to stand out against the word of the Lord, untill God gave him and his sons, City, and Kingdome, into the hands of the King of *Babylon*, who slue his sonnes before his face, then put out his eyes, bound him in Chaines till he dyed, tooke the City, laid it waste, burnt the Temple, led the people captive, and left the Land desolate, as we read *Jer. 39.* But yet there was another Band and conspiracy of wicked Counsellors, unjust Iudges, persecuting Rulers, and ungodly Officers, and other instruments of violence, more pestilent

pestilent and pernicious then all these who were such a plague and curse to their whole Nation, that they brought the wrath of God on it to the utmost, and on all their posterity untill this day; that was the great Counsell of the Jewes in our Saviours dayes, by which the publishing of the Gospell was desperately opposed, the blessed Messiah persecuted and murdered, his Apostles and Martyrs scourged, imprisoned, slaine, and scattered, as the History of the Gospell, and of the Acts of the Apostles testifie. For they by their pernicious Counsells and practises, brought a totall destruction upon their whole nation, people, City and Temple; so that a generall curse cleaves to their children, and they have for 1600 yeares been a by-word, a reproach and a hissing in all Nations where they are scattered. These dreadful examples are so many lowd voyces proclaiming from God to our eares, and witnessing to our hearts the truth propounded in this Doctrine, viz. *That every Band, Company, and Faction of wicked men, consulting to doe mischief, and practising against Gods Church and people, are most pernicious and dangerous Brambles, the plague and curse of Lands and Kingdomes.*

I have been large in producing a multitude of examples, because I would have you take notice, that wicked Rulers and Kings mentioned in Scripture, never wanted pernicious Counsellors, nor Bands of cursed instruments to spur and drive them on to destruction, and to bring a curse on their Kingdomes. This is no new, nor strange thing to be wondred at, and to dismay and astonish us. But that, in times when Kings and Princes were Tyrants, oppressors, and back sliders from true Religion to Idolatry, and had bands of wicked instruments, and of men of violence at command, God was so mercifull to his Nation, and people of old, as to reserve to himselfe a prevayling party, and to put wisdom and courage into the great Counsell of the Kingdome, to resist their violence, to preserve Religion from ruine, the people from oppression, the Land from spoyling, to oppose the bands of the wicked, to scatter them, and execute justice on them: this we finde not in the Book of God, in all the Histories from the first to the second Adam: this is a mercy proper to the times of the Gospell, and to those Nations and Kingdomes in which Christ ruleth by his holy Spirit, and his Church is surely established, by the word of God faithfully preached, & true religion is planted in the hearts of the people.

But now for the cursed Band of pernicious Counsellors, and other agents of violence and iniquity, which here I am to deale with. That we may see most clearely what just cause all Nations and people have to hate, abhorre, and spue them out, as enemies of all righteousnesse and peace; and the plague and curse of the Lands, states, and kingdome in which they rise up, and beare sway: I will launch forth a little further, to discover the depth of their malice, how pestilent and mischievous they must needs be, where soever they prevail, and are countenanced; and this I will doe by three reasons, drawe. First from their originall and chiefe author. Secondly, from their actions and practices. Thirdly, the unhappy events of their doing.

Reas. 1. First, it is most certaine, that all sons of *Belial*, children of the Devill, and seed of the old Serpent, especially when a faction of them is banded together, are most hurtful and dangerous to the Church and people of God, and a plague and curse to the State in which they rule and have power: For God hath put enmity between them and the elect seed of the woman, Christ, and his true members: there can be no peace, but perpetuall warre with them, till their head be bruised, and their power scattered: which victory for the most part doth cost Christians, as it did their head Christ, the bruising of their heele, *Gen. 3. 15.* What a curse the sons of *Eli*, who are called sons of *Belial*, *1 Sam. 2. 12.* did bring upon the Land of Israel, and on their fathers house, we may read at large, chap. *2. 11.* and chap. *4.* The Arke of God could not secure them from Gods wrathfull stroak, and visiting hand. And I doubt not but the covetousnesse, theft, and treachery of *Judas*, who was a Devill incarnate, doe discover sufficiently what mischiefe abounds in the children of the devill. Now wicked Counsellors, unjust Judges, and all other ungodly men banded together, to lye, to seduce, and to worke mischiefe in their hearts, are in the Scriptures proclaimed sons of *Belial*, children of the Devill, and the seed of the old Serpent: So God by *Moses* calls them, *Deut. 13. 13.* So *David* in his last words, and faith, *That they are all of them as Thornes thrust away, because they cannot bee taken with hands, 2 Sam. 23. 6.* And our Saviour tells the Jewes banded together to oppresse, hurt, lye, slander, and persecute, that they are of their Father the Devill: they have their originall from Hell, the devill is the chiefe author of their malice, and president

side it of their conspiracy and counsell, *Iohn 8. 44.* And *St. Paul* calls *Elimas* the Sorcerer, who laboured to turne *Sergius Paulus* from the faith, *the enemy of all righteousness, the child of the Devill, full of all malice and subtilty, Acts 13. 10.* For indeed the old Serpent the Devill, inspires subtie ty into men, suggests wicked counsells, and draws them into conspiracy in evill; and the more they are banded together, the more hee prevails in them, and workes more mischief by them: and therefore their originall, and the author of their Counsells demonstrates them to be such as this Doctrine teacheth.

The second reason is drawne from their actions, and practises. First of all their thoughts are against the righteous for evill, *Psalm 56. 5. They work mischief in their hearts, verse 2. of this Psalm, devise it on their beds, Psal. 30. 4. they glory and boast in it, Psalm 52. 1. they consult together to cast down the righteous from his excellency, they delight in lyes, blesse with their mouth, but curse with their heart, Psal. 62. 3, 4. In the balance of Justice which they hold as Judges in their hands, and under colour and pretence of judgement, they weigh out the violence of their hands, (that is, wrongs and injuries) in the earth. Psalm 58. 2. They plot against the righteous, Psalm 37. 12. They lye in wait for bloud, Mich. 7. 2. they talke together of laying snares for the innocent; they consult with one consent, and take crafty Counsell together against Gods people, even his hidden ones, who are his Jewells and his treasure: they are confederate against God himselfe, Psal. 83. 3. 5. they judge unjustly, accept the persons of the wicked, Psal. 82. 2.* And in a word, there is no evil action, or unjust practice, which men of wicked counsells, banded together, will not doe earnestly with both hands, *Mich. 7. 3.* Let *Abimelechs* example by evill counsell, and ayd of wicked instruments, slaying his 70. innocent brethren, *Judg. 9. Doegs* accusing first, and after murdering the Lords Priests, *1 Sam. 24.* and such like, bee an evidence of this. Now what state is not miserable where a Band of such wicked Counsellors rule and judge? What man can securely enjoy his lands, goods, liberty, or life? what peace or safety can be to any righteous man, if God doth not stop these Lyons mouthes, and extraordinarily protect him? Every good man may say with *David, My soule is among Lyons, and I lye among them who are set on fire, even the sons of men, &c. Psalm. 77. 4. O that I had wings like a Dove, &c. Psal. 55. 6 and Jer. 2. 2.* Therefore this Doctrine is a certain truth. The

Reas. 2.

PSL. 64. 5.

Reas. 3. The third Reason is drawn from the bitter fruits, and unhappy event and issue of their evill Counsell, and actions. The Prophet *David* upon certaine knowledge of the evill and mischief which followes them, proclaims *the man blessed that hath not walked in their counsell*, *Psal. 1. 1.* First, they bring woe and misery on themselves; as it is reported of the Dog-bramble, that in hot Countries, being vehemently shaken with the winde, and one branch dashed against another, it teares and grates it selfe, till it sets it selfe on fire, and the woods round about it: so these men by consulting wickedly together, and by their restless rage, they mutually enflame one another, and the Lord against whom they set themselves, conspiring against his anoynted holy ones, *will speak to them in his wrath, and vex them in his hot displeasure, Psal. 2. 2. 5. He will destroy them, and make them fall in their own imaginations, Psal. 5. 10.* And when they associate themselves, and take counsell together, *their counsell shall come to nought, and they shall be broken in pieces, Isa. 8. 10. and the fruit of their Counsells which they seek deep to hide, and of their workes which are in the darke, is woe, Isa. 29. 15.* Secondly, they involve in the same misery and destruction with themselves, the City and State wherein they act with power, and all those who walke in their Counsells; they bring the sword on their City with Captivity and slavery, *Hos. 10. 6.* The Countessors of the King of *Assyriah*, and of proud *Babel*, brought them downe to hell and destruction, *Isa. 10. 15. and 47. 13.* And in all the examples before mentioned, as of *Abimelech*, of the men of *Belial* in *Gibeah*, of *Saul*, *Absolom*, *Rehoboam*, *Joash*, and of the wicked Princes, Priests, Rulers, and people in the dayes of *Zedekiah*, before the captivity to *Babel*; and in the dayes of Christ and the Apostles, before the destruction of City, Temple, and Nation of the Jewes by the *Romans*: we may see as in a clear glasse the cursed fruits, and woefull events of the evill counsells, and actions of the wicked banded together in an evill cause: And upon these premisses the Doctrine followes as a necessary conclusion: *That the bands and factions of the wicked associated to consult and act against justice, religion, and the Church and people of God, are pernicious and dangerous, a plague and curse to Lands, States and Kingdomes.*

Use 1. And now I come to the Application: first of all to you the Honourable members of the House of Commons in Parliament,
not

not by way of exprobration, but of exhortation: for you are the chosen worthies of this Land and Kingdome, the representative body of the Common-wealth: And it hath been the ancient Priviledge of the great Counsell of this Kingdome, the high Court of Parliament, whereof you are Members; by the supreme power of judicature given you in your Election, to call to account all unjust Iudges, corrupt Officers, and the wicked Counsellors of your Kings, to depose them from their Offices, to strip them of their power and authority, to dissolve their Courts, and for treacherous Counsells and attempts against the Lawes, Liberties, and Religion, sometimes to cut them off by the sword of *Justice*. I hope that you who are so vigilant over others, will be as watchfull to keep all such out of your assembly; or if any such be discovered, to note and observe them, and upon the first occasion and opportunity, to remove them, lest they band themselves together, make divisions, and prove pricking Bryars, and grievous thornes among you. And it is my hearty desire, and prayers to God for you, that no Prophet, Preacher of the Word, or faithfull Messenger of God, may have any cause or colour to speake to you, as here the Prophe-ticall Psalmist doth to King *Sauls* great Counsell, in the two first Verses of this Psalme, *Doe yee indeed speake righteousnessse, & Congregation? doe yee judge uprightly, & yee sonnes of men. Yea, in your heart yee worke wickednesse, and weigh the violence of your hands in the earth.* I dare be bold on the contrary to speake to you, and that in the common voyce of all that are godly, and well-affected to Religion and Justice. O yee Honourable Assembly, the great Counsell of this Kingdome, and noble Worthies of this Land, that yee have not onely spoken righteousnessse and upright judgement, but also by your zealous Votes, as by the voyce of Thunder, you have scattered the Bands of wicked Counsellors, and corrupt Offices, dissolved some tyrannicall Courts, hurled downe unjust Iudges from the seats of justice, who had set up wickednesse for a Law. You have driven away as with a whirle-winde all those malignant and factious spirits from among you, who have opposed your godly and religious endeavours to relieve the oppressed, to reforme both Church and State, and to purge out all corruptions, and intollerable geirevances out of both. And you have for the terrour of the present, and future Ages, cut off many malignant and

desperate instruments of violence, rebellion, and treason by the sword of justice and warre. The Lord is with you, the mighty men of valour goe on in this your might, and *Gideon*-like yee shall save from destruction this perishing State, and shall set up the Kingdome of Christ over us. Though you meet with many difficulties, and great opposition of crafty, subtle, fierce, and cruell enemies, yet be not discouraged; but perswade your selves, that these are the dayes of the devills rage, who hath great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. While he fights against you in the forme of a great red Dragon, with all the power of the beast, and assailes you openly on all sides, with all the forces of the Romish *Antichrist*, raised up at home, and from abroad; he sends in among us grievous Wolves in sheeps cloathing, who by faire shewes of more refined Religion, piety, and godly life, seek to insinuate themselves into your favour, and under pretence of new light, and tender consciences, to purchase at your hands liberty to live as they list, under no rule or government, but every company and particular Conventicle to doe what seems good in their owne eyes, without controll of any superiours: others rise up dayly, and speak perverse things, that they may draw Disciples after them. The severall Bands of *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, *Familists*, *Libertines*, and *Separatists*, are so multiplyed, that they begin to threaten, and speake big words. And besides these we have blasphemous Hereticks, or rather Atheists, who begin to gather Assemblies, and to teach people, that one Spirit rules in all living Creatures, men and beasts; and the Spirit which dwells in the Saints is no other but the same which worketh in the children of disobedience. And that the Doctrine concerning the person of Christ, God and man, as it is preached in all Orthodox Churches, is but a fiction; for every man, by the Spirit of new light comming into him, becomes a Christ, God and man in himselfe. That mens souls dye as beasts doe with their bodies, and live not till the day of resurrection: As for hell, damnation, and differences of Elect men blessed, and reprobate cursed, they hold them to be Dreams, fictions, fear-crowes, and idle fancies. There is also a new Sect of *Seekers*, who renounce the Scriptures as blinde guides, and wait for new lights to lead them to the true Religion, which (as they conceive) is not yet to bee found, while the Temple is full of smoke: and in the mean time they will

will seek, and suspend, and fasten on no Religion, till the new lights appeare. But such is the efficacy of Satan in all these Sects, of so contrary opinions, that in the maine they are not divided: but all agree in this, that with lyes, slanders, revilings, and reproaches, they strive to over-lade, teare and rend the true Orthodox reformed Churches, and spare not Christs pure redeemed flocke: but by flatteries, forgeries, and new fangle opinions, draw away many well-meaning people, and steale away and destroy the sheep of his fold. Now these many factions and Sects, with all their favourers and abettors, (if any such should rise up among you) they are the Bands of the wicked, and the Brambles of which my Text speaks: which I have in the Doctrine now in hand proved to be most pestilent and dangerous, even the very curse of the land in which they get footing, and increase. And yee renowned Worthies, as yee tender the good and welfare of your Countrey, and of those who have entrusted you with defence and safety of their Religion, Lawes, Liberty, and Lives, and as God hath called you to the highest place and Court of Iudicature: so let it be your first care and worke of Reformation, to remove all such Brambles out of the way: and because some are but green thorns, or pricks, seduced and drawn into the faction by the sleights and subtlety of deceivers, have compassion on them, and put a difference, pulling them out of the fire, by the hand of justice tempered with mercy: and by the rod of correction; but others who are men of *Bellal*, hardened in their malignity, such as *David* in his last words resembles to Thornes, thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands, but the man that will touch them, must be fenced with Iron, and the staffe of a Speare, and they shall be burnt with fire in the same place: cut them downe with the sword of Iustice, root them out and consume them as with fire, that no root may spring againe: let their mischiefes fall upon their own heads, that the Land may be eased, which hath a long time, and doth still groane under them, as under an heavy curse. I doe not use this exhortation, as a Spur, but as an encouragement to you, who are wise, and of your selves willing and forward: that when you are put in minde, and have it set before your eyes, what a plague and curse such bands of wicked men are in a land, and to what misery and mischief all their counsels and doings tend: and what woefull events follow their curled designes;

you may proceed with courage to quell, scatter, and destroy them, never doubting, but that in so doing you doe the worke of God, and judge, and execute justice for him, and he is with you in the judgement, and by cutting off such *Achans*; you turne away his wrath from the Land.

Secondly, this Doctrine serves for wholesome admonition to us all this day; For by discovering to us the evil, and mischief of wicked Counsells; and what a plague and curse the Bands of the ungodly are in a Land, when they are combined together to worke wickednesse in their hearts, to oppresse and persecute Gods people by injustice and violence, and to oppose necessary Reformation: It puts us in minde of the plague & curse which still presseth sore, and lyeth hard and heavy upon the Kingdome at this time; and of our sinnes which have procured all this evill unto us, which great sinnes we have not yet subdued, neither have so washed our hearts from wickednesse by true and sound repentance, as to make our selves ripe for deliverance. Although the Lord by our Parliament hath wrought wonderfully in scattering the bands of wicked Counsellors, unjust Iudges, and corrupt Officers, in removing them from their Assembly, and from the seats of Iustice, and Courts of judicature: yet they are still combined together to do mischief in severall parts of the Land; they have raised up, and doe still maintaine a most unnaturall bloody civill warre, and have brought upon us the great and sore judgement of the sword: they have also subservient Bands of malignants, who do work for them secretly un der-hand, and are ready upon every occasion to helpe forward their cursed designe: we have but few garri son Townes, or fortified places, wherein they have not had some Band of combined Traytors, plotting to betray them, as we have seen in many former and late discoveries. And as the whole Kingdom groaned under the pressure of those tyrannical Courts lately dissolved; so many parts of the Land are still miserably oppressed by their scattered Bands, and we all sigh and groane with our oppressed brethren, and have a fellow-feeling of their calamities. Surely our great sinnes have pulled this plague and curse upon the Land; and it is still continued, because wee continue in our sinnes. The unclean spirits which vex us are not to be cast out, but by faithfull fervent prayers, and such holy Fasts as God hath cholen, and we have not kept.

For we have not loosed the bands of wickednesse, wee have not undone the heavy burthens, nor relieved the oppressed, nor broken every yoke. Many people in the Countrey are intollerably eaten up with free Quarter of our Souldiers, and yet have as heavy taxes laid on them as any others. The laborious Ministers are robbed of their livelihood by bands of Anabaptists, Separatists, and other profane covetous persons; and have no reliefe, nor remedy, but that which is worse than the disease: And yet when any tax is layd on their parishes, they are assessed more deeply, than some of double and triple ability. This I speak, not that I have any cause to complaine, but I am grieved to see the palpable wrongs, and to heare the complaints of my suffering brethren. The Church of Christ is wofully rent and torne by the bands of of Schismaticks, and blasphemous Hereticks, who when they have rob'd the folds of the Pastors, and stollen away their sheep, do raise up Hue and Cry against them, for demanding their owne: and while they persecute with the sword of their slanderous tongues all godly Orthodox Ministers, who desire to walk in the beaten way of all Reformed Churches, and to be guided therein by the cleare light of Gods word and spirit: they cry out, persecution, persecution, worse than Prelaticall; we are persecuted, imprisoned, banished; for our Consciences, and not suffered to enjoy Christian Libertie. Indeed if heresie, blasphemy, mutiny, raised up in the Church and State, and open affronts offered to this religious Parliament be Christian Liberty and Conscience: some of them have been lightly imprisoned for such doings a few dayes; but of any other persecution for Conscience, we have not yet heard. These great and scandalous sinnes, with horrid blasphemies belched out against Christ, the Gospell, the Law of God, and the holy Scriptures, while they are not punished by the Magistrate, nor by the offenders repented of, nor generally mourned for by us all, nor with godly griefe and sorrow bewayled, they provoke God to continue our plagues, and to strengthen the hand of the wicked against us, and his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. Besides, it is to be feared, that we have not thoroughly repented, nor so grieved, and bitterly mourned for our iniquities, which provoked God to give us in his wrath tyrannicall Lords and Lordly Prelates to rule over us with rigour: neither have we humbled our soules as we ought, even

Jer. 5. 30.

to shame our selves by publike confession, and open detestation of those offences and crimes whereof we are generally guilty in one measure or other, in that out of cowardly feare we yielded our necks to the Antichristian yoke of Prelaticall Tyrants, receiving without contradiction, or resistance, their Popish Ceremonies, superstitious Rites, and Idolatrous Innovations, and too many soothed them in their usurped power, and Lordly dominion over Gods inheritance, sathring it on them by Divine Right. Some have out of wilfull ignorance, and some out of flattery, some out of ambition, and a covetous desire of preferment by their means been instruments to confirme them in their pride, and power unlimited: As the Lord by the Prophet *Jeremiah* complained against the Iewes, in a time when their Church and State were desperately corrupt, and incurable, ready to be wholly ruined, saying: *A Wonderfull and horrible thing is committed in the Land, the Prophets prophesie falsely, the Priests rule, and take power into their hands by their means, and my people love to have it so, and what will yee do in the end thereof.* So it might have been truly said of us, our Prophets prophesied falsely, they preached for the pompe and Lordly power of *Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*, proclaimed them to be Lords over mens consciences, and the onely Pastors of all the Churches in their Diocesses and Provinces, and all other Ministers to be no Pastors, but onely their Curats and slavish vassalls, bound by oath to obey their Dictats and Canons. By this meanes they took into their hands the whole power of Church and State: they tyrannized, and Lorded it in their high Commission Courts, not only over Ministers and their flocks, but also over the Nobility and Gentry, who were compelled to crouch to them: they haled men to prison, & by hard and close imprisonment murdered the innocent, they robbed men of their estates by arbitrary fines, they over-awed Iudges, Counsellors, and Officers of state, so that by them they made their owne will and lust law, just judgements were restrained, and wrong judgment proceeded at their command, the wicked were favoured and promoted, and all godly people, especially faithfull Orthodox Ministers were hated and hunted after with nets; and the people loved to have it so: for they were ready to seeke their favour by accusing and slandering their Preachers, exposing them to their fury, and betraying them into their mercilesse hands: And what remained then for

for us to doe, but in anguish of soule to cry out and complain in the words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, chap. 59. 11, &c. *We roar like Bears, and mourne sore like Doves: we looked for light, and behold obscurity, justice is turned backward, equity cannot enter, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himselfe a pray.* And except the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a small remnant of faithfull praying people; we should have beene as *Sodome*, and we should have been as *Gomorrah*. But when he saw our affliction, he looked on us with compassion, and seeing that there was none to help, his own arme brought salvation to us, & his righteousness it sustained us; hee put on garments of vengeance for cloathing, and was clad with zeale as with a Cloak; and according to their deeds, accordingly he hath repayed fury to our oppressors, and recompence to his and our enemies: hee hath broken their nets, and we are delivered.

Here if any object and say, If the Lord be with us to deliver us, why are we thus troubled and vexed stil with feares of open enemies; and with dangers of Malignants among us? I must say againe, I feare wee have not rendred to God thanks and prayse, with the slaughter of our sinnes and lusts, and the sacrifice of new obedience, and the honour due to his name for these beginnings of his mercy: neither haue we sorrowed and mourned to amendment of life: our former sinnes and iniquities are too many and great to be with so few teares and sighes washed and blowne away: If we could weep teares of blood for them, and rend our hearts with godly remorse, and be ashamed, and confounded in our selves for our unthankfulness to so gracious a God, so bountifull a Father, and so mercifull a Lord and Iudge, al is too little. Let us therefore in these our publike Fasts, both Ministers and people, powre out our soules in humble confession of our vilenesse, and by aggravating our unworthinesse, let us labour to make our selves and others more sensible of the greatnesse of his mercy to us, and the prayse of his goodness and bounty to such vile sinners more admirable and glorious: Let us loose the bands of wickednesse, and the more cowardly, and fearefull we have been, like *Peter* in the dayes of tryall, the more bitterly let us weep with *Peter*: the more share and hand we have had in soothing Prelates, and promoting their pride, the more zealous let us be in trampling their pride under foot, and in abhorring all appearance of it, and in shewing open detestation

detestation of all their Iniquity, Superstition, and Idolatry. *David* was a man after Gods heart, and when through fleshly frailty, he had fallen into great and scandalous sinnes, adding to his adultery, murther; though upon his confession of his sin, the Lord forgave the iniquity of it; and the Prophet told him, *that the Lord had taken away his sin, he should not dye*, nor undergoe any destroying punishment of wrath and vengeance: yet he rested not in confessing, fasting, mourning, and praying for a day; but out of loathing, and abhorring his sinfull corruption, he afflicted his soule seven dayes, lying upon the ground, fasting, weeping, and making supplication with strong cries, and saying, *Have mercy upon me, O God according to thy loving kindness, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out all my transgressions: wash me thoroughly from my wickednesse; deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse, create in mee a cleane heart, restore to me the joy of thy salvation.* Psal. 51, And againe, *O Lord rebuke me not in thy wrath, I am troubled, I am bowed greatly, I goe mourning all the day long*: As wee may more at large see in his penitential Psalmes, in which his sorrowes are ingraven and recorded to all posterities. And all this repentance proceeded not from hor-
 rour of conscience or feare of death and hell, as that of *Ahab*, and *Judas* did: but out of true remorse and godly sorrow, for that he had sinned against a God, so gracious and full of tender compassion: His owne words shew the true ground of his griefe, where he saith, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned.* It was his love of God, and sense of Gods love and mercy to him, which made him so hate his sinnes, and loath himselfe. And indeed this is true Evangelicall repentance, which works effectually to the mortifying of the old man, killing the body of death, and subduing the rebellious lusts of the flesh: this makes our former sins hatefull and grievous to us; and terrifies us from falling in to the like againe. O how happy should we be, if we could thus repent, if we could thus humble our soules in these our Fasts, Gods bowels of compassion would yearn towards us, as the bowels of tender parents doe over a deare child when they see him grieving at the heart, and mourning for his offence of them, and disobedience to them, When the Lord our God sees us thus penitent, he will answer us graciously, meet us, and embrace us with love, make us behold his face with joy in the righteousness of Iesus Christ, accept his ransome for us, and
 will

will say to your soules, *I am your salvation*. His scourging rod, the cursed Bramble, with all the Thornes and Pricks thereof, all the bands of the wicked which trouble us, shall be thrown away into the fire, burnt and consumed.

I proceed to the second poynt, which is the resemblance of the severall sorts of ungodly, malicious, and ill-affected persons banded together to consult, devise, and practise evil against the Church of Christ, & to oppresse, persecute, and doe mischief to Gods people, unto the severall sorts of pricks on the great Bramble, of which some are green and more tender, others dried and hardned, but all sharp pricking and hurtfull, and are all to be taken away as with a whistle-wind. This ministers to us the second Doctrine.

That all persons combined in any Band or faction, consulting and working together against Gods Church and people, whether they bee 2. Doct. more or lesse pernicious, and able to do mischief, whether Hypocrites, working under hand, or open profest persecutors, they are all sharers in the same wickednesse, and being all of the same cursed Band and crew, they shall perish in the same destruction.

This is further confirmed by Gods own words, *Psalm 50. 16, &c. But unto the wicked said God, what hast thou to doe to declare my Statutes, and to take my Covenant in thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my word behinde thee? When thou sawest a Thiefe thou consentedst to him, and hast bene partaker with the adulterers, thou givest thy mouth to evill, and thy tongue frameth deceit: thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, and slanderest thine owne mothers son.* In which words I observe, that some wicked men make a profession of Religion, declare Gods Statutes, and take his Covenant in their mouth. Secondly, that they hate instruction, oppose Reformation, and break their Covenant with God. Thirdly, that by sitting in Counsell with persecutors, speaking evill with their mouthes, and framing deceit with their tongues, and consenting to the deeds of evill-doers, they are partakers of their sinnes. Fourthly, that Gods wrath is kindled against them, and if they doe not repent he will teare them in picces, and none shall deliver them. And *Psalm 26. 4. 5.* The holy Psalmist pleading immunity from sliding, and that God will not take him away, nor gather his soule with sinners, nor his life with men of blood, in whose hand is mischief, because he hath not sate with vaine persons, nor gone in with

dissemblers, but hath hated the Congregation of evill doers, and will not sit in Counsell with the wicked; doth necessarily intimate, that all they who do joyn in counsell with the wicked, & help forward their designes, are pertakers of their sinnes, and shall perish with them. And to the same purpose the Prophet *Ier. 15. 17.* *Jeremy* speaks, saying, *I sate not in the assembly of the mockers, nor rejoiced: why is my paine perpetuall, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed?* which words import, that they who are of the Band of scorners, and rejoyce in their evill doings, are pertakers of their wickednesse, and their wages shall be perpetuall paine and wounds incurable. All in *Corah's* conspiracy, even women and children, were found guilty before God of that rebellion and perished in it. And in a City falling away to Idolatry, all in it, yong & old are guilty, and to be cut off. *Numb. 16.* *Deut. 13.*

And indeed there is good Reason grounded on the word of *Reas. 1.* God, to prove this: For if childred are punished for the sins of their fathers unto the third and fourth Generation; because so long they may by sight or hearing know them, and see the prints and monuments of their fraud, violence, oppression, pride, and the like, and wittingly hold and possess their ill-gotten goods, of which they having knowledge, become pertakers of their sinnes, and make themselves guilty by approving, or imitating them, or neglecting to grieve and mourn for them, and to make restitution, and not removing their cursed things out of their families. Then much more they who are Counsellors, abettors, actors, and promoters of ungodly actions, and have an hand in the doing of them are pertakers, and guilty of them as being their owne sins for which they are justly punished. Now the first is manifest, *Exodus 20. 5.* by the expresse words of the Law, where the Lord saith, *He will visit the sins of the Fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation:* which sins they had no finger in when they were first committed; but onely approved them by imitation, or did not sorrow and mourn for them; nor shew open detestation, nor make restitution. Therefore much more they who joyne in Counsell with the enemies of Gods Church, and further and helpe forward their malicious designes, let them seem never so moderate and zealous for Religion, and the welfare of Church and State: they are all hurtfull and dangerous pricks of the cursed Bramble, brethren and companions with the malignant in

in their mischief, guilty of the same sins, and shall perish in the same destruction, if they do not repent, and separate themselves from their Congregation.

The common Law of Nations also confirms this, which makes accessaries, though not desperately cruell, nor so hardned in malice, as the chiefe principalls guilty of murther, robbery, treason, and the like crimes. *Reas. 2.*

This Doctrine is of good use. For it serves to admonish us all to be vigilant and watchfull against all hurtfull persons, dangerous sons of *Belial*, who are so many thornes and pricks of the cursed Bramble, yea far more dangerous; for their teeth are speares, and Arrowes, and their tongue a sharpe sword. *Psalm 57. 4.* They doe not onely catch and wound, and teare all that come within their reach, and touch them, as the Pricks of Brambles doe: but they have bent their tongues like a Bow for lies, and shoot forth their poysoned arrowes, bitter words of slander, to hurt and wound at a distance, *Psalm 64. 2.* The Prophet *Jeremiah* living in a dangerous time, in which there were many assemblies of such treacherous men, cryed out in great feare and anguish, *O that I had in the wildernesse the lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people, and goe from them. Jeremiah 9. 2. 3.* David also, beset with such Bryars, as a man possesst with horror, and trembling, wished that hee had wings to flye away. *O that I had wings like a Dove, for then would I flye away and be at rest: Lo, then would I wander farre off, and remaine in the wildernesse.* Thus Gods deare servants were more afraid of these pricking Brambles than of the briars and thorns in the wildernesse: wherefore let me exhort you in the words of the Apostle, *to see that yee walke warily and circumspectly, not as fooles, but as wise, because the dayes are evil, Ephes. 5. 15.* Let us not be deceived with the faire shewes of those instruments of Satan, who are outwardly Saints and Angells of light, professing abundance of new light, every sort and Sect of them, but inwardly are ravening and grievous wolves, not sparing the flock of Christ, his true Church planted in this Land, and like stinging and tearing pricks of the bramble wounding and tearing the high Court of Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, with the speares and arrowes of bitter words. Although the great Band of wicked Counsellors, Iudges, and Officers, which did tyrannize over our soules, as much as our bodies, and

was like a great Bramble overspreading the whole Land, darkning our light with the shadow of it, is by Gods mighty hand working with this happy Parliament, hurled out of all high Courts of Iustice, and removed further from us, and some noy-some and dangerous pricks thereof broken off and destroyed: yet let us not dreame of peace, nor suffer security to creepe upon us; for it doth get root and strength again in other places round about us, and doth prevaile to doe mischiefe, not a little in the North, the South, the West, and middle Countreys: And the Lord calls us to fasting and prayer, and to great humiliation, that we seeking to him may finde deliverance from the cruelty of that devouring Bramble; the sharpe hooked pricks whereof doesting, wound, catch, and hold whatsoever comes within their reach, as appears by their robbing and plundering, and haling men to prison, slaying and murdering many harmlesse people where they come: yea, this Bramble shrouding it selfe under the shadow of the great Cedar of *Lebanons* regall power and presence, rules over many great trees and Oaks of *Bashan*: and therefore still troubles us, and puts us in feare, and Scur, and Antichrist fore-seeing the fall of their Kingdome in the full, and destruction of it, combine all their forces to support it: And hence it is, that besides forraigne forces, Satan hath raised up from among our selves bands of Malignants, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Libertines, Schismaticall Separatists, all which are so many treacherous enemies at home, and do all worke together to strengthen the popish Faction, and to lay us open and naked to their fury and violence, by opposing and retarding the blessed worke of Reformation, deviding us among ourselves, and rending the Coat of Christ without seame. And every one in these severall factions, is like a sharpe venomous Thorne or Prick of the cursed Bramble, stinging and wounding the Church and Common-wealth, and all that are faithfull in both. And therefore to me it is not grievous, but to you it is safe to admonish you againe in the words of the Apostle, to beware of these Dogs, to beware of these evill workers, to beware of the concision: never had we more need to be firmly united in hearts, soules, and affections, that with joynt strength, and one shoulder wee may labour and strive to dissolve these wicked Bands, and to scatter them: for they are a heavy curse to all our Land,

Secondly,

Secondly, this Doctrine serves as to stirre us all up as to be-
ware lest these men of *Belial*, who are combined together in
hurtfull Counsell, and practises catch hold of us to hurt us; so
also it gives a Caveat to all men to take heed, that they be not
so deceived with the seeming moderation and faire shewes of
any sort of them, as to seek or hope for any helpe from them,
either for resisting the Popish faction, or for furthering the true
reformation of the Church, and settling of the Land in peace.
For certainly, whether they be of the Band and Sect of Ana-
baptists, or Antinomians, or Libertines, or separating Schisma-
ticks, or Seekers of new light, they are all of them hurtful pricks
of the cursed Bramble, and all their counsell, and designes tend
to crosse and hinder all sound Reformation, and to further the
grand Antichristian faction, in their desperate attempts to ru-
ine Religion, Church, and Common-wealth. Can any be so
blinde and voyd of understanding, as to expect any blessing or
good at all from them who are the curse of the land? will the
pernicious enemies of Reformation, and peace, contemners of
Lawes; and lawfull authority, cordially joyne to defend our
Lawes and Religion, and helpe forward the reformation of the
Church from corruptions, errors, and abuses, which abound
chiefely in themselves, and they are the authors and abettors
of them? Is there any hope that they who exclude and cast
out from their Communion, as unclean-Dogs, all reformed
Churches, will fight for any Reformation which comes neare
to them, though it be never so well warranted and held forth
in the Word of God? We read of *Manasseh*, the King of *Jo-
dah*, that when the Captains of the host of the King of *Assyria*,
came against him, they took him in the thorns, bound him in
chaines, and carryed him to *Babylon*, where he was in great af-
fliction, 2 Chron. 33. 11. *When the City could not defend him, he
fled for shelter into the Briar bushes, and there he was caught, and
held fast by the hooked prickles, for the enemies to take him:*
and even so it will be with us, if wee trust in these pricking
thornes, and betake our selves to them for helpe, they will be-
tray us into the enemies hands. Wherefore let us set our hearts
to rest wholly on our God, and to seek to him with fasting,
prayer, and humiliation for deliverance from these Bryars, and
Thornes, and from their hooks and snares. And because while
we regard iniquity in our hearts, the Lord will not heare us;

let us confesse our sins with mournful hearts, and forsake them, and the Lord will forgive the iniquity of them, and will be our refuge and strength, and a present helpe in all our troubles. For if we could but prepare our hearts, and fit our selves for deliverance by obtaining mercy to have our sinnes and transgressions blotted out, and could wash our hearts from wickedness, and put away by repentance our sinnes which doe strengthen the hands of our enemies against us, God would quickly scatter all them that rise up to vex us, and not spare nor indure them for one moment, they are all even the best of them, the hatefull pricks of the cursed briar, fully ripe for destruction. Sin is that which brought them for a curse upon the ground; and repentance and putting away of our sins is the onely way to rid the land of them; the Lord is ready and waiteth for our amendment, that instantly and without delay he may scatter them as with a whirlwinde both the green and the dry.

The third point in my Text is; That God will not suffer the righteous to feel the evill and michiefe intended and plotted against them, by the bands of their enemies and persecutors, but will most timely and seasonably take away and destroy all and every prick of that cursed bramble and spare none, neither greene nor dry. There are two kinds of feeling; one is by outward and bodily sense of things which touch us, and we touch and handle them; this is expressed in the Originall Scriptures by an Hebrew word which implies bodily touching; The other is the inward sense of feeling by knowledg and understanding. This feeling reacheth beyond bodily sense of the flesh, even to the soule and spirit, and it is expressed in the Originall by the hebrew words *Iadagh* and *Iabin*, which signifie to know and understand the thing bodily felt. Of this feeling we read *Prov. 23. 35.* where it is said of a drunken man; *That he is stricken, and yet is not sick of his blow; he is beaten, but he feels it not.* It is certaine his flesh feels it, and the stripes leave a print behind; but he hath not for the present the use of his reason to know and understand, because his spirits are drowned in drink, and oppressed with moist vapours. Also *Eccles. 8. 5.* it is said; *that he that keepeth the Commandement shall not feele evill*, that is, not evill as a plague or curse reaching to the soule, nor as an evill of wrath and revenge, for so the righteous doe not feele any evill, though they feele in the flesh many afflictions

ons of tryall and chastisement, which are not evill but good to them. Wee read that *Isaac* did bodily feele *Jacob* by touching his hands and neck, but he did not know nor understand that it was *Jacob* whom he felt, and so he had a feeling of him in part only by bodily sense, but not a full and perfect feeling of him in soule and spirit by knowledg and understanding. Here my Text speakes of a full sense and feeling, as well inwardly in soule and spirit, as outwardly in the flesh; For the word *Jabiru*, which signifies such a feeling is here used: the words thus opened minister the third Doctrine, viz.

That God out of his tender love and watchfull providence over his Church and people, doth frustrate the wicked counsels and purposes of their Enemies, and scatters their persecutors before they proceed, and prevaile so far as to make them feel the evill and mischief which they are sharply set and cruelly bent to inflict and bring upon them. 3. Doct.

The full Scope and intent of this Doctrine is to shew, and to hold out unto us these 3 things,

First, that God is ready to prevent the evils intended against his Church and People by their enemies, and delivers them from them oftentimes before they have any sense or feeling of them at all. Secondly, that though the Lord suffers the wicked to afflict his Church, and to be his rod to scourge his People, either for their sins by way of sharp correction, or for tryall of their faith and patience; yet he never leaves them in their hand to feel their worst, nor gives them to their lust, rage and fury to be devoured and swallowed up of them, or to be put to sense and feeling of paine intollerable. Thirdly, though the cruel enemies of Gods Church, and persecutors of his people, may proceed so far as to kill their bodies with sense of outward torment and violence done to the flesh; yet they shall never reach to their soules and spirits, nor prevaile so farre as to make them feele the evill and mischief intended against their inward man, the soule and spirit. For the confirming of this Doctrine in all these particulars, we have cleare testimonies, and pregnant examples in the sacred Scriptures. First, that God prevents the evil intended by the enemies against his people, so that they doe not feele it, neither doth it touch them at all, it is plainly affirmed, *Psalm* 91. 2, 3. where it is said of them that trust in the Lord, and make him their refuge, that he will deliver them from the snare of the Fowler, and from all other evils,

evills which are most terrible, so that no evill shall befall them, nor plague come neare their dwelling: onely with their eyes shall they beheld, and see the reward of the wicked their enemies. Also Psalme 27. 2. When the wicked, even mine enemies, saith David, came against me to eate up my flesh, they stumbled, and fell. And Psalme 37. The wicked plotteth against the righteous, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth, he hath drawne out his sword, and bent his Bow to cast downe, and to slay such as be upright: but the Lord shall laugh at him, for he seeth that his day is coming. His sword shall enter into his owne heart, and his Bow shall be broken. Thus when they have travelled with iniquity, and conceived mischief, they bring forth falsehood, and when they have made a pit and digged it, they fall into the ditch themselves, and their mischiefe returns upon their owne head, Psalme 7. 14. and in the net which they hid is their owne foot taken, and they are snared in the worke of their hands, Psal. 9. 15, 16. Besides these, and many such testimonies, we have pregnant examples, as that of *Iehosaphat*, 2 Chron. 20. when three nations were banded against him and his people, and they had no might to resist, neither knew what to doe, they betooke themselves to seek the Lord with fasting and prayer: and the Lord set ambushments against the enemies, and made them slay one another till they were all destroyed: so that *Iehosaphat* and his people had no need to fight, but did only stand and see the salvation of the Lord. Another example is that of *Hezekiah*, when the Assyrian King *Senacharib* came against him to besiege *Ierusalem*, and by *Rabshakeh*, threatned to drive his people to that extremity, as to eate their owne dung, and to drinke their owne piss, 2 King. 18. 27. The Lord suffered him not to come to the City, nor to shoot an arrow into it, but sent a blast upon him, and by his Angel slew in one night, 185. thousand in his host, and drove him back with shame.

Secondly, though the Church and children of God, may be sore afflicted by the Bands of the wicked, yet before they seele that destruction and misery which is intended and plotted against them, the Lord will send deliverance by scattering, and destroying their cruell persecutors. We see this verified in the *Israelites*, who saw and felt much affliction in *Egypt*: but when it came to the upshot, that *Pharaoh* and his Host pursued them to eat them off, and destroy them with the sword, God overthrew them all in the sea, and suffered not his people to seele their

their cruell band, *Exod. 14.* Also in the dayes of the Judges, the Israelites were often oppressed and afflicted by divers enemies, which sought to cast them out and destroy them : but before they felt this evil which their enemies attempted with all their power, the Lord delivered them, and scattered and destroyed their oppressors. In the 83. *Psalme* mention is made of many Nations which were confederate against Gods Church and people, and said, *Come let us cut them off from being a Nation, that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance:* but when they invaded the land, and began to cast fire into their Sanctuaries, God made all those Nations as stubble before the wind, and persecuted them with his storme, and scattered them, before his people felt the evil which they conspired to bring upon them. *David* and his followers were pursued for their lives, and suffered hard things at the hand of *Saul*, and his wicked Band, but the evil which they chiefly sought, which was to kill and cut them off, they could never bring upon them, nor make them feel, for they themselves were first destroyed. In a word, God so armes his people with patience and courage, that they goe through all the sharpest afflictions, and persecutions of the enemies with joy, & that peace which they have with God, makes them rejoyce in tribulations, and the inward spiritual comforts which fill their soules, doe swallow all pains and sorrowes, that they have no such sense and feeling of them as others have.

The third perticular in the Doctrine is, that though the Bands of the wicked do persecute the Saints for their true faith in Christ, to their own destruction : and are permitted to afflict and torture their bodies, even to the murthering and killing of them : yet they can never bring them under the sense and feeling of soule-murther, by compelling them to deny the faith, and to imbrace Idolatry, or any soule-killing errors and heresies. This is consonant to the words of the Apostle, *Rom. 8. 35. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ ? shall tribulation, or distresse, or perill, or sword, or life, or death, (as it is written for thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay in all these we are more than Conquerors, through him that loved us. And Heb. 11. we have a Cloud of witnesses who were tortured, and had tryall of cruell mockings, and scourgings, and of bonds and imprisonment, and were stoned, sawn asunder, and slain with the sword, and yet they felt no evil in their*

soules, which in all these temptations did remaine untouched: Though the stiff-necked Iewes were cut to the heart at the hearing of *Stevens* words, and they gnashed on him with their teeth, and ran upon him all at once, with purpose to destroy him soule and body, yet his soule was not touched with the sense and feeling of their malice and fury, and being commended into the hands of Christ, whom it saw and enjoyed in death, it ascended triumphantly into glory.

Use 1. This Doctrine thus confirmed in all particulars, is of singular use: First, to magnifie in our eyes Gods tender love to his Church, and his watchfullnesse over his people, for the preservation, defence, and upholding of them in a world so full of the Bands of wicked sons of *Belial*, and in a land so over-spread with the curse and plague of Bryars and thornes. First, in that he keeps many of them from being caught or touched at all. Secondly, in that he supports them when they are caught, and armes them with strength, faith, patience, and courage, to goe through the Briars and Thornes, without any sense and feeling of the sting and venom of their sharp pricks: as wee read of one of our blessed Martyrs, who professed that in the midst of burning flames, consuming his body, he felt no more pain, than if he had layn on a feather-bed. Thirdly, in that hee limits and restrains the power, rage, and fury of the sharpest, and most cruell pricks of the cursed Bramble, that they cannot strike and wound them to the quick, that is, not reach unto their soule. Of this the Church and people of God in this land have had heretofore, and have at this day most comfortable experience. First, in the year 88. when the floods of *Belial* made us afraid, and the armed Bands of Antichrist came against us with an invincible Armado, (as they proudly boasted) armed with sharpe hooks, stabbing knives, and all weapons of cruelty, and instruments of death, the Lord did blow upon them with his mighty whirlwinde, scattered them upon the face of the great deep, the sea covered them, and they sunk as Lead in the mighty waters, and so he saved us from the sharp hooks and pricks of the enemies, their murdering and destroying weapons and instruments of cruelty did not touch us at all. Likewise in the Powder Treason, and many other treacherous plots of late time, when wee were encompassed in the net, ready to fall into the Bryars, and to be caught in the snares of the wicked, the Lord suddenly

Exod. 15.

suddenly brake the snares, and we were delivered, before their hooked pricks could fasten upon us, or tear us. Secondly, though the Lord hath suffered us for our sinnes, and for the tryall of our Faith, to fall of late into the Bryars, and we have undergone sharpe and cruell prickings in this bloudy civil war kindled in our Land, yet he hath so armed us with Faith in Christ, and strengthened us with courage, and with confidence, and with full assurance of his love, that wee goe through a'l cheerefully and comfortably, as if we felt no hurt: yea in all the afflictions we feele no stroke of wrath and revenge at all, but only chastisements of love, fatherly corrections and tryalls, which are the faithfull wounds of a lover, better and more safe then the deceitfull kisses and embracings of our enemies. Thirdly in the midst of Thornes and Bryers, when the Lord suffers the swords of the enemies to cut our flesh, and to wound and kill our bodies, and to shed our blood, that they may fill up to the full the measure of their iniquities; yet he suffers not their violence to reach unto our soules, we stand firme and stedfast in faith; and so far are we from wavering in Religion, inclining to Popery, forsaking the cause of Christ, and suffering our soules to be betrayed, wounded, and slaine, that wee have renewed our Covenant with God, & have bound our selves to stand for a more full Reformation of Church and State, and to maintain the true *Reformed Religion* with our bodies, lives, and goods, and to oppose popery, and all other Sects, and Opinions, contrarie to true godlinesse. O how are we bound to admire the love, mercy, bounty and goodnesse of the Lord our God in all these notable passages of his providence, watchfulnesse, and provident care over his Church and people in this land: how ought we to love, honour, serve, and obey him to seek continually to him for help, and to call upon his name, and to humble our selves even to the dust, for our many sinnes and provocations, by which we have most unthankfully borne our selves towards him, and ill-requited all his kindnesse to us. Let these our monethly Fasts heave us up every one a step and degree higher in our devotion, zeale, and reformation of life: and the oftner we are put in remembrance of Gods mercies to us, and our sins against his holy Majesty, the more let us be humbled, the more let us cry mightily to God in confession, prayer, and supplication, which if he gives us grace to doe, we shall have no need to feare or doubt

doubt, but may be confident, that he will scatter the bands of our enemies, and all the cursed prickes of the cursed Bramble, he will take away every one as with a whistle-windle; as my Text here speaks.

Use 2. Secondly, this Doctrine is of use to strengthen the faith of weake Christians, and to put courage into them that are fearefull and cowardly in our Land, now in these perillous times, wherein so many pricking Bryars, and grieving Thornes are suddenly growne up among us, and severall bands of desperate sons of *Belial* are multiplyed within us, and round about us on every side. Gods love to his Church, and his care for his people, and watchfulnesse over them, doth not alwayes consist and appeare in suffering no hurtfull Bryars to be at all. (or if such happen to grow up and increafe) in ridding the land of them speedily: for this is the way to make us grow secure, and cold in prayer and seeking to him: sinne not corrected will increafe, and faith not tryed nor exercised, wil grow rusty, and there will be no manifestation of them that are approved. But herein especially is Gods love and care for his people manifested, when hee suffers Bryars and Thornes to grow up and multiply in the land till they grow terrible, and dangerous, and yet preserves his Church as a Lilly among thornes, safe and untouched, and his people from all sense and feeling of any hurt from them; or if the sharpe hooked prickes catch hold of them, they cannot enter so far, nor strike so deep as to wound them mortally, and to make them feeble the smart of a wrathfull and revenging stroak, because they are girded with the whole Armour of God: or if they wound them mortally in their bodies, and in their fraile flesh; yet in their soules and spirit they feeble no hurt at all: they are so firmly built on Christ the Rock, and sustained by his righteousness, and by his spirit, that they cannot waver, nor be moved from their stedfastnesse. Hereby God doth manifest himselfe to be our refuge and strength, and a present helpe against all troubles, never failing, nor neglecting us in time of need, and firme friend in all adversities. Wherefore let no mans heart faile because of the Bands of the wicked, Papists, or prophane Atheists, gathered together to make open war against us, or malignants working under hand, or hereticks and Schismaticks, making rents and divisions which tend to weaken us, and to expose us to the rage and fury of Antichrist, and

and his Bands. But let us all put on courage and strength in these perillous times, and the more that evils and dangers increase, the more stout & resolute let every man be to resist them in his place and ranke, and according to his ability. *Fear not them that can kill the body, and can doe no more, but feare him rather, who can destroy both soule and body in hell, Matth. 10. 28.* Cowards and fearfull persons have no place in the new Ierusalem, but are shut out with unbelievers, and the abominable, and murderers, and whore-mongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and lyers, which have their portion in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimstone for evermore, *Rev. 21. 8.*

The fourth and last poynt in my Text, is the destruction of the enemies and persecutors of Gods Church and people, in these words, *He will take them away with a whirle-winde, as well the green as the dry.* The Doctrine which hence ariseth is :

That when Gods Church is most dangerously beset, and most fiercely assailed by the bands of enemies and persecutors of all sorts, the Lord will terribly, suddenly, and totally scatter and destroy them all, and none shall escape. 4. Doct.

First, he will terribly scatter and destroy them, *as with a tempestuous whirle-winde*, which commeth with great violence and terrour, as we all know by experience.

Secondly, he will destroy them *suddenly* ; for nothing riseth up, nor rusheth in more suddenly than a whirle-winde.

Thirdly, he will destroy them *totally, all, and every one, as well the green as the dry.* As all have a share in the persecution of the Saints, and in opposing true godlinesse, so all shall perish in the same destruction.

First, that the destruction of the wicked, who band themselves together against Gods Church and people, shall be dreadfull and terrible, the Scriptures abundantly testifie : For the day of Gods vengeance on them is sayd to be a wofull day, *Ier. 17. 16. A day of wrath, a day of trouble and distresse, a day of masse, and desolation, a day of thicke darknesse, clouds, and gloominesse, Nab. 1. 15.* All which are dreadfull and terrible. The Prophet *Isaiah* calls it devouring by that fire wherewith God devoureth his enemies : *the fire of thine enemies, O Lord, shall devour them.* The Lord is said to whet his sword, and bend his bow, and prepare the instruments of death, and ordain his Arrows against the persecutors, *Psal. 7. 12. Hee will make his*

Isa. 26. 11.

arrows drunke with their bloud, and his sword shall devour their flesh, and he will render vengeance to them, and give them the reward of his enemies, *Deut. 32. 41.* And in a word, the soule of the Lord so hateth these wicked men which love violence, that he will rain upon them snares, fire, brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup, *Psal. 11. 6.*

Secondly, that their destruction shall come suddenly, the Lord himselfe testifieth, *Deut. 32. 35.* saying. *To mee belongeth vengeance and recompence, their foote shall slide in due tyme* (that is, there fall shall be sudden, as the fall of a man when his foote slideth, and downe he comes at once) *the day of their calamitie is at hand, and the things which come upon them make haste.* And *Psal. 64. 7.* It is said of them that bend their bowe to shoote at the perfect, that the Lord shall shoote at them with his swift arrow suddenly, suddenly shall their stroke be: And the wise preacher Eccles. 9. 12. resembles the fall of the wicked in the evil day, to fishes taken in an evill net, and to birds that are taken in a snare before they know and be a ware, and their snare and destruction falleth suddenly upon them. The Prophet Isaiah saith, that the multitude of the terrible ones, shall bee as chaffe which passeth away; and it (that is their scattering) shall be at an instant suddenly. And because they hate preaching of the truth, and desire that God may cease from them, and that they may no more heare of him, and trust in oppression and perversenesse, Therefore their fall and breach shall be suddenly as the swelling in an high wall, the breaking whereof cometh suddenly at an instant *Isa. 30. 13.* And for an instance he brings in Babilon the type of Rome. And of the Kingdom and Faction of Antichrist, and the pattern of the whole body of the enemies of Gods people, and persecutors of his Church *Isa. 47. 1.* Whose destruction cometh on her suddenly, and she shall not know from whence it riseth, and desolation shall come on her suddenly when she shall not know, nor be aware. And in this respect, the Lord comming to take vengeance on the Romish Beast, and on all his agents, saith, *Behold, I come as a Thiefe,* that is, suddenly and unexpected, *Rev. 16. 15.* And when the wicked say, *Peace, and safety,* then shall destruction come upon them suddenly as travaile upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape, *1 Thes. 5. 3.*

Thirdly, that their scattering and destruction shall be totall of all, and every one of all sorts the Psalmist testifieth, *Pf. 62. 3.*
How

How long (saith he) will yee imagine, or devise mischief? ye shall be slain all of you, as a bowing wall shall yee be, and as a tottering fence. And *Ier. 11. 12. and 18. 21.* and divers other places. An utter destruction is denounced against all of all sorts, who are banded together against God and his people, men and women, yong and old, Priests and Prophets. And it is the Lords commandement, *Deut. 13. 15.* That the whole City following the Counsell of the wicked, and taking part with them to set up Idolatry shall be destroyed, and all the inhabitants slain by the sword. The whole family of *Achan*, the troubler of *Israel* was destroyed, *Ios 7. 24.* *Corah*, and all that conspired with him, of all ages and Sexes were at once swallowed up, *Num 16.* And of all *Ahabs* family, and persecuting house, there was not a man left to make water against the wall. Nor one man of all *Baals* Priests escaped, but were cut off. And of all the wicked Faction which conspired against *Jeremiah*, the Lord saith, *Cast them out of my sight, let them goe forth such as are for death, to death, and such as are for the sword to the sword, and such as are for the Famine to the famine.* And though *Moses* and *Samuel* stood before mee, saith God, my minde could not be towards them, *Ier. 15. 1, 2.* Besides these testimonies, we have also good reasons to confirme this truth, all grounded on the word of God.

First, it is the way & course of Gods proceeding, so to deal with men as they deale with others, to pay them home in their kind, and punish like with like: *Adoni bezek* felt this, and had full experience of it: for as he had cut off the Thumbs, and great Toes of seventy Kings; so his Thumbs and great Toes were cut off, and then he, though an heathen King, confessed and said, *As I Iudg. 1. 7. have done, so God hath requited me.* The Law which God gave to *Noah* and his sons, that *whosoever sheds mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, is also a prooffe of this assertion; besides many examples in Scripture. Now the enemies and persecutors of Gods people, they are called the terrible ones, *Iob 27. 13. & Isa. 29. 20.* because they exercise cruelty, that they may be a greater terrour to the meek Saints: they count it their glory to be terrible, and band themselves together for that purpose: And therefore just it is for God, and his justice requires it, that he shall lop them off with terrour, and consume them all together, branch, rush, and root most terribly.

Secondly, when the wicked set themselves against God, and are

are at open defiance with his Majesty, his honour is enraged, and his great name will be blasphemed, if hee doth not speedily take terrible revenge: yea, his jealousie will break out like a fire, and his anger will smooke against them, and move him to destroy them, as we see by his owne words concerning *Pharaoh*, *Exod* 14. 17. and *Senacharib*, *Isa* 37. 29. Now when the bands of the wicked set themselves against Gods people, they set themselves against God, and touch the apple of his eye, where he is most tender, and cannot abide to be touched, *Zac* 2. 8. And if he should suffer them any longer, and not scatter them when they are swollen with malice, pride, power, and like raging waves, and proud waters, are ready to overflow and drowne his people, what would become of his servants? how would the enemy rage more against his holy Majesty? and what would they doe to his great name; but blaspheme it, and say, *Where is their God?* or what is hee that wee should stand in awe of him, Therefore the Lord for his names sake, as well as for his tender compassion to his people, will suddenly and totally scatter them, and destroy them with terrible destruction. ▽

Thirdly, terrible wrath and vengeance are laid up in store with God for the wicked, who provoke God every day, and multiply their provocations without repentance: and they, after their hardnesse, and heart that cannot repent, beap to themselves wrath against the day of Wrath and visitation, *Rom* 2. And such are all the enemies & persecutors banded against Gods Church and people: they are all impenitent persons, they doe not persecute ignorantly, as *Paul* did, out of blind zeale for God and his Law. But of purpose, and with counsell, being banded with desperate enemies, and men of *Belial*, and of the same faction, and there is no hope of mercy to them, that they may repent as *Paul* did, Therefore all of them being pricks and thornes of the cursed Bramble, they shall perish and be terribly destroyed, even the best as well as the worst, as well the green as the dry.

Fourthly, it is Gods wisdom, will, and delight, so to doe his great works, that he may shew his justice and power in them, and may have the glory to himselfe. This he testifieth abundantly, *1nd* 7. and in divers other places. Now when he scattereth the enemies, and persecutors suddenly, terribly, and totally, in the height of their pride and power, it appears to all to be his work, and the honour and glory redounds wholly to

to his Majesty. Therefore it is the Lords wisdom and delight to scatter and destroy them.

First, this Doctrine is a singular antidote and preservative against the poyson of envy, impatience, fretting, and grudging at the power, prosperity, and prevailing of the wicked against Gods people, even to persecute, vex, and afflict them. The Prophet *Ieremies* spirit was so stirred up in him at the sight hereof, that he expostulated with God, but yet in an humble and submissive way, *Ier. 12. 1, 2. Righteous* (saith he) *art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments: Wherefore doth the wicked prosper? and why are they blessed that deale treacherously: Thou hast planted them, they have taken root, they grow and bring forth fruit: thou art neare in their month, but farre from their reines.* The Prophet *Habakkuk* useth greater boldnesse, saying, *O Lord how long shall I cry unto thee, and thou dost not heare? even cry out of violence, and thou dost not save? Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoyling and violence are before me, and there are that raise up strife and contention. Therefore is the Law slacke, and judgement doth never goe forth, for the wicked doth encompass about the righteous.* But the hypocrites, and carnall professors used more stout words against the Lord, *Mal. 3. 14.* and said, *It is vaine to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his Ordinance, and walked mournfully before the Lord of Hosts. And now we call the proud happy; yea they that worke wickednesse are exalted: and even they that tempt God are deliuered.* And this holy Psalmist *David* was overtaken in this kinde, as himself acknowledgeth, *Psal 73. 2, 3, &c.* But as for me, my feet were almight gone, my steps had welnigh slipped: for I was envious at the foolish, when I beheld the prosperity of the wicked: for their strength is firme, they are not in trouble, pride compasseth them as a chaine, violence covers them as with a garment; they speake wickedly concerning oppression, they set their mouth against heauen. And it is an infirmity unto which we are all subject. But this Doctrine is a remedy to cure this disease: It teacheth the same lesson which *David* did meet with in the house of God, viz. that God will terribly, suddenly, and totally destroy them: He setteth them in slippery places, and casteth them downe into destruction. How are they brought into desolation as in a moment, they are utterly consumed with terrors. And when the wicked spring as the grasse, and the workers of iniquity flourish,

Use 1.

Hab. 1. 2, 3

Vers. 18, 19

Psal. 2. 7.

is then that they shall be destroyed for ever. Wherefore let us beare this lesson in minde, that we may not be over-taken with envy and fretting at the pride and power of ungodly persecutors for a little while, but tremble rather to think of their wofull end. And if we have slipt in this kinde, let us here see our folly, and condemne our selves, as *David* did, saying, verse 22. *So foolish and ignorant was I, as a beast before thee.*

Use

2.

Secondly, this Doctrine, which speaks nothing but terrour to the enemies and persecutors of the Church, affords matter of comfort to the faithfull in times most feareful and comfortlesse, when they are beset with feares and dangers by reason of the multitude, and power and the wrath of the enemies kindled against them, and ready to swallow them up. If their hearts be troubled, and their soules grieved to see the world pestered, and the Land over-growne with cursed Bryars and Thornes; here is comfort, that God will in due time take them away, and rid the land of them: and the more terrible they are to the godly, the more terrible will the Lord be to them, and more terribly will he destroy them. If they be so multiplyed and increased in power, and sharp set to swallow all up at once, and we have no might to withstand their fury; Let this comfort us, that God is more ready at hand to scatter them in a moment suddenly, and will doe it for his owne names sake: he will bring suddain destruction upon them, when we are in great extremity, then it is Gods opportunity, to make bare his mighty arme, and to cut them off in a moment. If we feare, that after the old Lyons are destroyed, the young will grow up: and when the hardned pricks are consumed, the green will remaine to continue our troubles, feares, and dangers, let us pluck up our heart, and be confident, *that God will take them all away, both the green and dry: none shall escape.* If there be any failing, or any delay, the fault is in us: because we have not put away our sins, we binde Gods hands that he cannot strike, as he would speedily do, if we were as fit to receive, as he is to give deliverance. Wherefore for a conclusion, let us call upon the Lord, and sue unto him earnestly in these dayes of publike fasting, prayer, and humiliation, for the assistance and grace of his Spirit, that wee may fast from sin, and by true repentance wash our hearts from wickednesse, that we may be saved. We cannot more earnestly desire and long for the downfall and destruction of our desperate

rate and deadly enemies, those hurtfull and dangerous Thorns and Brambles, which are the plague and curse that lyeth heavy upon our land, nor more heartily wish for full deliverance from their rage and fury, than the Lord wisheth and desireth, that we by repentance, holy obedience, newnesse of heart, and uprightness of spirit, were ripened, and fitted for deliverance: so he himselfe sheweth and testifieth by his owne words, *Dent. 5. 29. O that there were such an heart in them, that they would feare me, and keep my Commandments: alwayes, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever. And Dent. 32. 29. O that they were wise, and understood this, that they would consider their latter end. How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. And Ps. 81. 13, 14. O that my people would barken unto me, and Israel would walke in my wayes. I should soone subane their enemies, and turne my hand against their adversaries.* And now, seeing the Lord is so ready, so willing, and so desirous to save us: Let us take heed, lest by not putting away our sins, and amending our lives, we put away salvation from us, and judge our selves unworthy of it: and so provoke the Lord to turne away his face, and savour from us, and leave us in the hand, and to the will of them, who are so ready to swallow us up in a moment, and whose will is to cut off the name and remembrance of us from the face of the earth. From which heavy curse and judgement the Lord deliver us, for his mercies sake in Iesus Christ.

FINIS.
